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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Shakespeare: The First Folio Edition of 1623. Reproduced under the immediate supervision of Howard Staunton, by Photo-lithography.* Folio.  
2. *Shakespeare: a Critical Biography.* By Samuel Neil. 12mo. London, 1861.

THE two works at the head of this article are samples of what has been done for Shakspearian literature within the last few years. It is a matter of congratulation to all students of the great dramatist that the appliances of modern science should have given us an exact facsimile of the first collected edition of the poet's works, and thus have enabled all readers to judge, for themselves of the state and arrangement of the text as it first left the hands of the poet's literary executors. Mr. Neil's little book has done good service in presenting the facts of the poet's biography, and the most material documents relating to it, in their strict chronological order. The value of the slenderest notices derived from original papers in illustrating not only the life of the poet, of his family, and his neighbours in Warwickshire, but the spirit and manners of the period, can never be fully appreciated until the whole mass of evidence has been thoroughly sifted. Availing ourselves therefore of what has been brought to light by the indefatigable diligence of the poet's admirers within the last few years, and of such papers as still remain unpublished in the Record Office, we propose to lay before our readers a sketch of Shakspeare's life and times, carefully eliminating from the former those supposed facts and theories which have gathered round it on the faith of documents now generally regarded with discredit.

Of Shakspeare's great contemporaries, by descent as well as by feeling, Spenser was intimately connected with the aristocracy of England. His life was spent at a distance from the metropolis. During his long residence in Ireland he treasured up the impressions he had received in his youth of the glories of Elizabeth, and the grandeur of Protestantism,—its heroic  
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sufferings, its eventual triumph over all forms of falsehood and deceit, moral, religious, social, scientific, and political. These impressions were never disturbed by too close an approximation to realities. Happily, it was never the poet's lot to witness the party and personal squabbles in which his knights indulged too freely in the court of his Gloriana, or to see prelates and Puritans divided, and both equally forgetful of mutual charity, in bitter controversies about square caps and white surplices. Hooker, on the other hand, owed his descent to the burgher class. The chief part of his life was spent in the quiet seclusion of the university. If Spenser was mainly indebted to his imagination for his knowledge of the external world, Hooker judged it by his books. His mind was as deeply tinctured with fathers and schoolmen—with an ideal Christianity enshrined in the past—as Spenser's imagination lingered over mediæval romances and Arthurian legends. Over both the past had a stronger hold than the present; the *τὸ καλὸν* of the one and the *τὸ δίκαιον* of the other are equally heroical—both equally transcend the capabilities and the limits of poor, failing, commonplace humanity.

It was otherwise with Shakspeare. Like Spenser, he was allied by his mother's side to gentle blood;\* like Hooker, he was linked to the burgher classes by the stronger parent. Brought up in the country till the age of manhood, thrown early upon his own resources, obliged to no college-fellowship like Hooker, to no diplomatic appointment like Spenser, he was tossed on the seething waves of the metropolis, or rather cast himself upon them, with the same boldness, perhaps the same apparent recklessness, as he had entered on a marriage at eighteen, when he was no better than a poor apprentice or foreman to a failing glover in a poor country town. Of his life-struggles—and they must have been many—he has left no sign. Of his patience, his endurance, his solitary determination, whilst unassisted and unadvised he carved out his way from the safe obscurity of Stratford to the highest pinnacle of fame, he has told us nothing. This early familiarity with the hard realities of life left no trace on his mind, as these things leave scars and traces on inferior intellects, beyond perhaps that sympathy with humanity, that profound appreciation of it in all its forms, which is one of his greatest characteristics as a poet.

How far the circumstances of his life and times may have determined or assisted the development of his genius it is not easy to ascertain. Of no other English poet can it be said with

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\* 'She was one of the heirs of Robert Arden of Wellingeote.'—*Grant of Arms*.  
greater

greater justice: '*Poeta nascitur non fit.*' Many, indeed, of Shakspeare's enthusiastic admirers will not allow that he owed anything to art or to learning. They claim for Nature and for natural inspiration alone those great masterpieces of invention in which others have professed to find traces of the most profound philosophy, the most acute physiological knowledge, the clearest distinctions of races, the fullest appreciation of all forms of poetry, the exactest study of man and of nature.

That Shakspeare owed most to Nature, that his obligations to learning or accidental circumstances were but slight, we may fully concede, without at the same time entirely overlooking the obvious advantages afforded by the times for dramatic composition, and the traces of classical education to be found throughout the poet's works. The same keen and unerring instinct which from a single glance could body forth and project in a visible form the whole life and character of a man, however remote from ordinary observation, would by a similar power extract from books—poor and meagre in themselves—the quintessence of a life rich and varied, instinct with thoughts and feelings, such as inferior intelligences would fail to gather from the most perfect productions of the greatest genius. The dreary chronicle, the blundering biography, the vapidest translations of *Cæsar* or of *Sallust*, were instruments sufficient to set at work that innate power of the poet which, like Nature itself, develops the most perfect and glorious results from the most contemptible and unworthy materials. That is what we mean by genius. With ordinary men the instruments by which they work must bear some proportion in dignity and value to the end to be produced; but genius is divine and miraculous in this, that it is not tied to the order, methods, and instruments by which common men are bound. Admitting, then, that no amount of training or study can account for Shakspeare's plays, admitting also that the poet was little indebted to school learning for his wonderful productions, that would not necessarily invalidate the importance of his education, or the beneficial influences of his peculiar times. Brought up at the grammar-school of Stratford, he would acquire as much knowledge of Latin and French as fell to the lot of most of his contemporaries. Before the great public schools had attracted much attention—before, indeed, they were accessible to the large majority of the English country gentlemen, owing to bad roads and inefficient means of travelling—the grammar schools of our country towns furnished the only means for the training and education of the gentry and richer citizens throughout the largest extent of England. Were the results poor and unsatisfactory? Can any period be pointed out in our history which provided on the whole

abler schoolmasters or scholars more deeply interested in learning? It is impossible to open any popular book of those times without being struck with its rich abundance of classical allusion. If this be attributed to pedantry, that pedantry was universal. But we have a more unsuspecting testimony; not only did the dramatists of the age freely borrow from classical antiquity their plots, their quotations, their witticisms—and that for dramas intended for a popular audience—without scruple, without dread of being misunderstood—but in the humours of Eastcheap, in the busiest haunts of life, ‘the honey of Hybla,’ ‘pitiful Titan,’ ‘Phœbus the wandering knight,’ ‘Diana’s foresters,’ ‘homo is a *common* name for all men,’ are freely bandied from mouth to mouth, with not so much as a thought on the part of the author that his allusions will not be fully understood by his audience.

If Shakspeare, then, had, as Jonson observes, ‘little Latin and less Greek,’ the admission at least implies that he had some knowledge of both—enough of Latin to read ordinary Latin books and translations, and more than enough of genius to extract from what he did read the pith and substance. It was an age throughout of Latin cultivation. Greek, with few exceptions, was unattainable, except to men of fortune, or rare scholars at the universities. In fact, Shakspeare was the poet of an age that loved learning for its own sake—an age that had come into a new inheritance of breathless wonder and interest—

‘Like some watcher of the skies  
When a new planet swims into his ken;’

and he would not have been the man of his time, nor the poet that he was, had he been wholly indifferent to learning or wholly unacquainted with it.

Nor were the times less favourable to him as a dramatic poet. The Reformation had done much to develop individual character. The feeling of a common Christendom, the sense of submission to the Church as a great society, the duty of not diverging widely from the authorized limits of religious opinion and belief, had all passed away. Each man felt bound to carve out a faith for himself, and to discard as worthless—at least, as suspicious—whatever was recommended or received on authority or tradition. Bacon has said that time, like a river, brings down on its surface the straw and the stubble, but the solid and the gold have long since sunk to the bottom. What seems like a paradox to the philosopher, was accepted by the reformers as an undoubted and undeniable truth. Authority was the test of falsehood, not of truth. Uniformity of belief was not to be found in nations or in single men. No two agreed. Diversity of faith led to diversity  
of

of character ; and if there be one phenomenon more striking than another in the reign of Elizabeth, it is the strange humours, the extravagancies, the conceits, the motley exhibition of dress, manners, sentiments, and opinions, admitting no central authority, bound by no restraint beyond the caprice of the individual. There was, besides, no standard of taste, no school of criticism, no public opinion, literary or otherwise, to which men could defer, or, probably, if there had been, would have cared to defer. There were no settled forms of English—no deference to classical models, which all consented to accept. No long-established rules imposed a wholesome restraint on the teeming invention and luxuriant wit of the Elizabethan writers.

But while the Reformation had been thus powerful in developing individual character in its widest extent ; whilst men revelled in their new-found liberty, and cared not to determine when it degenerated into licentiousness ; whilst Nature avenged herself on the dry, logical studies of a preceding age by a reaction which sometimes trespassed into animalism, the material forms of the old world and the old religion still held their ground. In the parish church the service was in English, not in Latin ; but the ceremonies, the dresses, the fasts, and the festivals, though curtailed, remained essentially the same. Sermons were scarcely more frequent than they had been in Popish times ; men and women went to confession—paid their Easter offerings—looked up to the parish priest as their spiritual guide. Most of these priests had been in their livings when Edward VI. was crowned—had complied with Queen Mary—had re-complied with Elizabeth—accommodated their new to their ancient faith—doubtless retained many of their old Romish practices and predilections—and were winked at by their bishops, especially in distant provinces. How could it be otherwise, unless the rulers of the Church were prepared to see nine-tenths of the parishes of England deprived of all spiritual instructors, and churches and congregations falling into irremediable decay ? Though Puritanism was creeping on with rapid and stealthy pace towards the close of the century, it numbered as yet a contemptible and unnational minority. It had not yet contrived to inspire men with one intense and narrow sentimentalism ; to force upon their unwilling acceptance its straitened notions of a straitened creed. It had not yet taught them to look with sour suspicion on all forms of amusement as ungodly ; or to suspect Popery in mince-pies and cheerful village festivals. So ancient customs remained as they had remained ages before. Christmas, with its pageants and processions, its mummers and its good fare ; Twelfth-night, Midsummer's Eve, St. Mark's, St. Valentine's, and All Saints days,

days, were duly observed. No inductive philosophy had yet appeared to disturb the popular belief in fairies or in witchcraft, in ghosts or in spectres; no ruthless geographer had stripped 'the still-vexed Bermoothes' of its Ariel and its Caliban, or buried the wand which raised such potent marvels.

By the ingle-nook, especially in country towns like Stratford—half a century behind the metropolis, and exempt from those changes to which a great metropolis is subject—men still talked of elves and goblins, and still devoutly believed in them. They repeated from father to son the local traditions of their own and the neighbouring counties. They knew the battle-fields of Tewkesbury; they had heard tell of the encounter when the Severn hid its head in fear of the blood-stained combatants. Kenilworth and Coventry, Gloucester and Northampton, were studied with historical associations. And many an anecdote, many a feat, a trait of manner, of person, and character, of English worthies would thus be handed down which would be sought in vain in the chronicles of Hall or of Hollinshed. For, unlike the wars of modern times, the civil wars of England were fought by the tenants and labourers of the lord, who returned at the close of the struggle to the plough and the spade, to live and die, in most instances, at no great distance from the scene of their military exploits. So sons and grandsons learned to repeat the stories of meek Henry VI., of the fierce and forbidding Richard III., of the hateful De la Pole and the gracious Edward.

The exact year in which Shakspeare abandoned Stratford for the metropolis cannot now be ascertained, nor yet the motive or the manner of his departure. It has been assumed that he quitted his native town shortly after his marriage with Ann Hathaway. The birth of a daughter, Susannah, in May, 1583, followed by twins, Hamnet and Judith, in 1585, has been adopted as a sufficient reason why he should leave a place and occupation in which his father had not apparently prospered, and enter upon a profession more congenial to the bent of his genius. A story, handed down by the parish clerk of Stratford in 1693, who was then upwards of eighty years old, contains the only trustworthy record of this period of the poet's life. According to this statement, Shakspeare was apprenticed to a butcher, left his master, went to London, 'and there was received into the playhouse as a servitor, and by this means had an opportunity to be what he afterwards proved.' That the substance of the story is correct, though it may have suffered from the manner of the telling, can hardly be doubted, considering the authority from which it emanates. A parish clerk in a country town, generally the  
depository

depository of the local traditions of the place, and living so near the poet's own times, was hardly likely to have invented such a tale, though he may have disfigured it. That Shakspeare's father, combining a variety of kindred occupations—no very unusual practice in a country town—at once glover, maltster, farmer, appraiser, frequently engaged in litigation, and therefore not unfrequently in debt, should not have considered the occupation of a butcher in a country town as a derogatory employment for one of a family of ten children, may be naturally assumed. Nor by the word 'butcher' is it necessary to understand exactly what that word implies now. Popular tradition associated the poet with his father's occupations; and if Shakspeare had never left Stratford he would, like others of his contemporaries, have grown old in his native town no more than glover, butcher, or maltster, as his father had been.

As for his running away to London and leaving his wife and family dependent on the casual charity of others, that story can only be accepted with many modifications. The distance of Stratford from the metropolis, the difficulties of travelling in those days, the improbability that his father would or could have advanced him the necessary means for so doing, and burthened himself with his son's family, must be taken into account. It is much more probable that if Shakspeare did not join one of the many companies of actors who periodically appeared in Stratford or its vicinity, he was brought to London by the Catesbys or the Cloptons, or some one of the powerful families in the county, who had as sufficient reasons for hating the Lucys as Shakspeare himself.

And here, before we pass on to trace the future career of the poet, it will be as well to allude to the anecdote first published by Rowe and repeated by most of the poet's biographers. 'He had, by a misfortune' (says Rowe) 'common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and amongst them some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely, and in order to revenge that ill-usage he made a ballad upon him.'\* And though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time

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\* Compare the expression: 'And I have not ballads made on you all, and sung to filthy tunes.'

and shelter himself in London.' Omitting the modern decorations of the story, we may admit the facts of the deer-stealing in the poet's case, as in that of many others of his contemporaries. It may be hard to point to any direct evidence in the poet's works in confirmation of this act of youthful delinquency; but we think that the impression left on the minds of most of his readers will warrant the belief that the poet had been a lad of spirit, of no 'vinegar aspect;' popular—boy, youth, and man—among his contemporaries, and taking life easy in all its stages, laughing heartily at a jest, and perfectly willing to bear his part in one. So complete and perfect are the harmony and unity of his dramatic characters that we cannot safely derive from them any hypothesis as to the poet's dislikes and predilections; yet the humours of Eastcheap, the mad pranks of Prince Hal and his associates, the reckless adventures of hair-brained, hot-blooded youth, are painted by the poet with such a zest as can scarcely be held otherwise than an indication of his own temperament. But deer-stealing, though a perilous offence, was too popular and too common in all ranks to entail disgrace or compel an offender to flee from his native town. That Shakspeare entertained a personal dislike for the Lucys, we can well believe; and the more so, as of all his signal and numerous opportunities to take poetical vengeance on his unfriends, that of the Lucys is the only prominent instance.\* But the feud between the Lucys and the natives of Stratford was of earlier date than this affair of the deer-stealing, and crops out on various occasions. The Lucys were arrogant and imperious Puritans; the good town of Stratford, with the Cloptons and the Catesbys, were zealous adherents of the ancient faith. In the reign of Henry VIII., William Lucy, the father of Shakspeare's Sir Thomas, the friend of Bishop Latimer, had more than once endeavoured to bring down the king's displeasure on the citizens of Stratford for religious differences; and more than once a riot had ensued, in which the Grevilles and the Combes, in conjunction with the Lucys, would have ridden roughshod over the burgesses, of whom Shakspeare's father was afterwards high bailiff, if they had not been supported by the Cloptons

\* That the Lucys were fond of litigation is implied by the opening lines of 'The Merry Wives of Windsor,' and justified by history. In the conversation between Shallow, Slender, and Evans, Slender says, 'They may give the dozen white luses in their coat.' To which Shallow replies, 'It is an *old* coat.' Evidently referring to the family pride of the Lucys, as well as their antiquity. Evans: 'The dozen white louses do become an *old* coat well; it agrees well, passant.' (That being their heraldic characteristic; 12 luses, passant.) 'It is a familiar beast to man, and signifies—*love*.' Excessively comical in the mouth of a Welshman!

and the Catesbys.\* The Lucys were powerful at the Court of the Tudors, for they had blood-royal in their veins; and as many of their opponents were Roman Catholics, or had relapsed from Protestantism to the old faith, one of their most effective instruments for satisfying personal pique, under the garb of patriotism, was to put in force the penal laws and the power of the Crown against their rivals. In a commission issued in 1592 for persecuting and presenting recusants, directed to the Lucys and the Grevilles, and obtained apparently by their means, it is curious to observe that they presented as a recusant Mrs. Clopton, 'widow of Wm. Clopton, esq. ;' but in their second return they proceed to rectify their convenient mistake by the naïve admission: Mrs. Clopton, presented as a recusant, was 'mistaken, and goeth now to church!' In the same presentment, next to Henley-in-Arden, occurs the parish of Sombourne, with this notice: 'Mrs. Mary Arden, widow, presented for a wilful recusant before our last certificate, continues still obstinate in her recusancy,' and is accordingly indicted. By the same commissioners, John Shakspeare, the poet's father, is returned as a recusant; but this note is subjoined in his case and in that of eight others: 'It is said that the last nine come not to church for fear of process for debt.†'

Now, though it is true that already, some six years before the date of this commission, Shakspeare's father had fallen into difficulties and was deprived of his alderman's gown, it is hardly probable, had he been notoriously affected towards the Protestant religion, that his name would have been inserted in the return of the commissioners; for the object of the commission was not so much to learn who absented themselves from the parish church, as to discover Jesuits, seminary priests, and papal emissaries, now, more than ever, busily engaged in sowing disaffection among the people of Warwickshire, and those who harboured them. The government of the day—as is clear from the cases cited by the commissioners—required attendance at church once a month; that done, it did not trouble itself with inflicting further penalties, or requiring more distinct proofs of the recusant's loyalty. John Shakspeare was a recusant in this sense, and the note was appended to explain the reason why he had not complied with the requirements of the government. If then he were a recusant in the ordinary use of the term, this might account for the pecuniary difficulties into which he fell some years before, when the government of Elizabeth exacted the fines for recusancy with unsparing severity.

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\* Unpublished papers in the Record Office.

† MS. in the Record Office.



That the townspeople of Stratford cordially hated the Lucys, and were particularly anxious to avoid incurring their displeasure, is apparent from the records of the town, printed by Mr. Halliwell. He selects numerous items of sack and sugar for the lips of Sir Thomas and his chief friends, Sir Fulke and Sir Edward Greville. In one entry, dated 1598, the chamberlain very bluntly records: 'Paid to Sir Fowle (*sic*) Greville, for nothing, 40s.!' And again in 1601, in an action for trespass brought by Sir Edward Greville against the burgesses of Stratford, the name of John Shakspeare appears as a witness on behalf of the defendants.

We are, therefore, inclined to believe that Shakspeare's departure from his native town was a more deliberate act than Rowe's anecdote of the deer-stalking and the vengeance of the Lucys would lead us to expect. It is impossible that the poet, living so near to Coventry, should not often have witnessed the crude dramatic representations of the times, and equally impossible that the dramatic genius within him, that was never crude, never less than powerful, should not have been mightily stirred by what he saw. 'Mute, inglorious Miltons' may have died unseen; but that was because their Miltonic genius was neither all-powerful nor lasting. It was the slave, not the master, of circumstances. But overpowering genius, like mastering passion, admits of no repulse, and suffers no cold obstruction. Besides it must be remembered that in Shakspeare's time—before Puritanism had done its work—the profession of an actor as well as of a dramatist led to fame and opulence. The stage had not yet been regarded as the illusion of antichrist. It still shared with the pulpit the task of instructing the people. It still bore upon its features the marks of its ecclesiastical origin. It still reckoned among its authors and patrons bishops like Bale and Still.

On Shakspeare's arrival in London all accounts concur in asserting that the poet embraced the profession of an actor; and the old clerk's account—that 'he was received into the play-house as a servitor'—is not without probability. Such a practice was not unusual. Mr. Halliwell has referred to an instance in Henslow's diary in which it is stated that 'he hired a covenant servant, William Kendall, for two years, after the statute of Winchester, with two single pence, and to give him for his said service every week of his playing in London 10s. and in the country 5s.'

Of the theatres then in vogue the most eminent was the Globe, on the Bankside; and with this or the Black Friars, belonging to the same company, Shakspeare was connected, and in one or  
other

other of these all his plays were subsequently performed. In 1603 the company consisted of Laurence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillipps, John Heminge, and Henry Condell, Shakspeare's literary executors, and several others; the most eminent performers of their age. The theatre, an hexagonal wooden building, was partly thatched and partly exposed to the weather, and the performances generally, if not always, took place in the afternoon, then the idlest time of the day. Rooms or boxes were provided for the wealthier classes, the admission to which varied from a shilling to half a crown; whilst the frequenters of the pit either stood or sate on the ground. The wits and critics of the times were admitted on the stage; and so far was this practice from detracting, as might be imagined, from the interest and illusion of the play, this identification of the audience with the actors, at a time when the scenery was of the simplest kind, and the costume of the actors differed not from that of ordinary life, must on most occasions have given to the scene a lifelike reality to which we are strangers. Such briefly were the theatres in which Shakspeare—

‘Made those flights upon the banks of Thames  
That so did take Eliza and our James.’

Such, also, in the dearth of clubs and coffee-houses, of novels, newspapers, and other means of information, were the studies as well as the entertainment of the age, where men picked up, in the main, whatever they knew of foreign countries and distant times, of classical lore and English history. And here, by the great good fortune of that age, were brought together the court and its statesmen, from Nonsuch House or Westminster—the Sydneys, the Raleighs, the Essexes, the Cecils, and the Bacons; the soldier of fortune, like Falstaff, the grave citizen, the humourist and man of pleasure, the weather-beaten adventurer of the water-side just landed from Guinea or Bermuda;—all to see set before them every shade of human character—their own among the number—every exhibition of human passion, affection, and caprice; from the most daring and subtle intellect to the poorest driveller; genius at one time taking mystic flights, at another flickering on the verge of imbecility and madness.

At the time when Shakspeare set foot in the metropolis the stage was passing through a new epoch. The Moralities which might in his childhood have satisfied a less critical audience at Coventry or Stratford, and the dumb shows and pageants provided for the Virgin Queen at Kenilworth or Windsor had lost their

their attractions.\* The diffusion of classical learning, numerous translations of the dramatic poets of Greece and Rome, intellects sharpened by the great theological controversies in which they had been lately engaged, the stronger sense of national and individual freedom, had prepared men for a keener relish of the higher productions of art in all its branches. The result is seen in every direction. It would have violated all experience had it not been seen in that form of literature which represented more fully than any other the condition of the national mind, and more than any other appealed to the sympathies and experience of all classes in the nation. A people brave, resolute, and energetic, who had passed, by extraordinary exertion, through so fearful an ordeal, scarcely of less duration than 150 years, and then emerged safely on the firm ground, as they looked back on the stormy ocean from which they had so recently escaped, would expect in their poets and teachers an earnestness and reality of treatment, a vividness of perception, a power of reproduction, wholly different from the mere didactic attitude and philosophic musing into which poets are permitted to fall in more tranquil times. They would forgive any errors rather than those of tameness and insensibility. Regularity of form and harmony of design would be less attractive to them than freedom of movement. Liberty they demanded, even if, as in our early dramatists, it degenerated at times into extravagance and licentiousness. Thus, within a very brief space, English literature, as represented by the drama, experienced a sudden and entire transformation, such as no other period affords the like. Nor are the dramas of Shakspeare further removed from those of his immediate predecessors than theirs are from the Moralities and Mysteries which they had superseded in their turn.

Of the competitors for public favour when Shakspeare appeared at the Black Friars, in his new capacity as servitor, the most eminent were Lilly, Peele, Greene, and Marlowe. All of these men had been educated at one or other of the two universities; and all took to writing for the stage, with no higher object than

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\* Thus, in Greene's 'Never too Late,' the strolling actor says to Roberto: 'Why, I am as famous for *Dolphrygus* and *The King of the Fairies* as ever was any of my time. *The Twelve Labours of Hercules* have I terribly thundered on the stage, and played three scenes of the Devil in *The High Way to Heaven*.' 'Have ye so?' said Roberto; 'then I pray you pardon me.' 'Nay, more,' quoth the player, 'I can serve to make a pretty speech, for I was a country author passing (good) for a Moral; for it was I that penned the Moral of *Mun's Will*, *The Diall of Dives*, and for seven years' space was absolute interpreter of the puppets. But now my almanack is out of date.

The people make no estimation  
Of Morals teaching education.'

that of relieving that poverty into which they continually relapsed from their folly and intemperance, or perhaps, as in Lilly's case, to obtain court-favour. They must be entirely acquitted of any purpose to grasp those deeper questions which confused and perplexed the age; still less of endeavouring to discover the true solution of them. To attempt to enter upon that vast theatre of human experience now displayed before them, to comprehend the various purposes and phases of human life, and its relations, in its novel position, to the past, the present, or the future—this was a task for which they had neither the requisite faculties nor the necessary sympathy. If they could represent the passing and grotesque humours of their age, if they could point some moral lesson against its more obvious transgressions, they aimed no higher. And often, like men of meagre genius and less subtle perception, they mistook the mere transitory phenomena for the cause; their feebler imaginations were taken captive by the disastrous effects of vice and passion, whilst the subtler and more spiritual incentives they never fathomed. So, living in times which were favourable to poetry—and to dramatic poetry especially—when men were still inspired by the excitement of past and of passing events—when individual characterism had not yet crystallized into one dull uniformity by fixed systems of education or engrossing commercial monopoly—when the old had not so far been parted from the new as to lose its vitality and fade into the unrealism of archæology—these dramatists, with all their ability and advantages, produced nothing which could serve beyond the amusement of the hour; not a passage, not a line, not a single happy expression, could take root in the memory of their contemporaries, and secure eternity for itself among the unwritten traditions of the people. Whilst unnumbered hosts of Shakspeare's phrases, often the most plain and artless, the least obviously remarkable for any peculiarity of sound or antithesis, or for those factitious qualities which catch the undisciplined fancy, have grown into household words, only less numerous than those of the Bible, it is impossible to trace any similar fortune in Shakspeare's contemporaries or his immediate predecessors. And as it is inconceivable that any possible revolution of public taste should ever give life or animation to their writings, it is equally impossible to conceive that any revelations of science, before which the proudest of our present achievements must fade like the baseless fabric of a vision, should consign Shakspeare to oblivion, or render him less worthy of the profoundest study, less fresh, less striking, less instructive, less philosophical, in the truest of all senses, than he is now, than he was before gravitation or the laws of Kepler were discovered, when Copernicus was

was esteemed no better than a dreamer—a new but ignoble Phææthon driving the earth about the sun.\*

Yet these men's labours were not without their use. Steeped in classical literature, deriving their rules from classical models, guiding their judgment exclusively, though with small discrimination, by classical authority, they inexorably determined the form and style of dramatic art. They developed the poetical capabilities of the English language. They refined it to those higher purposes of poetical literature for which, even at their time, and still more emphatically before their time, it was considered wholly unsuitable. The world was still divided between the learned and the laymen. Latin associated with the religious sympathies and scholastic supremacy of the middle ages had not yet resigned its special dignity as the only organ of inspiration. It had entered on a new and more splendid career by the revival of letters and the labours of the revivalists. The English tongue, rough, confused, unmetrical—the tongue of business and of the vulgar—was, in the lips of the educated, a condescension to vulgar ignorance and infirmity;—a pharisaic uncleanness, which the scholar and the gentleman must contract in his associations with the unlearned, in his pity for their blindness, but of which he washed himself up to the very elbows in his communion with his fellows.† It may be easy to smile at these things now; but, to those who think deeply on the subject, it must seem wonderful how a language constantly associated with ignoble uses, intensely businesslike and prosaic, despised by men of taste and learning, could pass, and that so rapidly, into the radiant sphere of poetry. What is the task of a great artist, embodying his conceptions with a piece of black charcoal and a stick, compared with that of the poet who has to clothe his most subtle thoughts, his nicest, his most incisive and accurate perceptions, in words never trained by usage to such purposes, never adequate to his needs, falsified in their true significance by carelessness and stupidity, always spilling over or falling short in the due adjustment of their popular acceptance to their etymological exactness?

These men, then, did that for Shakspeare which it is very possible the poet, great as he was, could not have done so well for himself. They had familiarised men's minds with the laws of the drama, in the concrete; they had accustomed the ears of

\* 'Those new carmen which drive the earth about.'—*Bacon*.

† Mr. Collier has printed a letter in which the authorities of the University of Cambridge request they may be excused from complying with the royal request to act a play in English. They are contented to represent a Latin play, but an English one they consider derogatory, and the students are highly offended at the notion.

men to a stately blank verse, essentially and exclusively English in its character—indelibly associated with all our noblest poetry—and yet evidently suggested by an intense study of its classical forerunner.\* Language, in their hands, was intensified and elevated, however deficient it might be in suppleness and versatility—qualities at that time less required. For stateliness and dignity, combined with strength and fervour, passages may be extracted from our elder dramatists which are not surpassed by any of their successors, Shakspeare and Milton excepted;—and how much the latter was indebted for many of his excellences to a careful study of these early writers, no one can doubt who has taken the trouble to study the subject. If these excellences are marred by startling incongruities; if in their best passages they run into extravagance, or,

‘all unawares,  
Fluttering their pennons vain, plumb down they drop  
Ten thousand fathoms deep’—

that was incidental to their task. It was no more than, in their case, might have been anticipated. As they could not all at once pull up their audience to their own altitude, they descended to their audience. The mere Latinists, as they were called, proud of their scholarship and defiant of all departure from classical types, died in their theory, and left no mark behind them;—but these men, mixing with the world, too often steeped in its excesses, and sounding the lowest depths of its misery, had more sympathy with their fellow-men and their ways. Their own experience, as they found, was of more worth to them as dramatists than their learning, if they wished for popularity. So with their classical tastes and predilections they mixed up, often incongruously enough, the homely and coarse scenes of their own daily experience, in the homeliest and least idealised forms.

From 1585, when Shakspeare is supposed to have taken up his residence in London, to 1598, we have very few data to determine the poet's circumstances, conduct, or specific employments. That he was assiduous as an actor and a successful dra-

\* This is evidently on what poor Greene prided himself—and justly so—in his dying hours. Thus in the well-known passage referring to Shakspeare: ‘There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you.’ Beautified with our feathers means, as he expresses it, to write blank verse, and imitate the rules of dramatic composition, to which Greene and his friends had contributed so much popularity. That a country lad like Shakspeare, not of the craft, without fame, friends, or a University education, ‘should bombast out a blank verse’ as well as the most experienced writers of the age, was a fact sufficient to alarm the jealousy of Greene and of his contemporaries.

matist from the very first is clear from the concurrent testimony of the times ; scanty as it is. Already in 1598, a writer named Francis Meres, 'Master of Arts of both Universities,' in a 'Discourse of English Poets,'\* mentions Shakspeare in the following terms: 'Shakspeare, among the English, is *the most excellent* in both kinds (tragedy and comedy) for the stage. For comedy, witness his "Gentlemen of Verona," his "Errors," his "Love's Labour's Lost," his "Love's Labour's Won," his "Midsummer's Night's Dream," and his "Merchant of Venice." For tragedy, his "Richard II.," "Richard III.," "Henry IV.," "King John," "Titus Andronicus," and his "Romeo and Juliet."'

From the language of Meres it would be naturally inferred that he did not propose to give a complete list of Shakspeare's writings in 1598, but of those only which bore out his assertion that he was 'the most excellent' in tragedy as well as in comedy. Thus, within twelve or thirteen years after Shakspeare's arrival in London, Meres could point to twelve plays of Shakspeare so generally well known and universally applauded that, in spite of the popularity of Greene, Peele, and Marlowe, or even Ben Jonson,† Meres made no scruple to claim for Shakspeare the palm as a dramatist above all his contemporaries. Even admitting that Meres' list is complete, this would give a year for a play ; and for such plays as 'Richard II.,' 'King John,' 'Henry IV.,' the 'Midsummer's Night's Dream,' and 'Romeo and Juliet.'

But this is not all ; for, in 1593, Shakspeare had given to the world his two poems of 'Venus and Adonis,' and 'Lucrece.' To the same period must be ascribed the three parts of 'Henry VI.,'‡ and at least so many of the Sonnets—if they were written, as some critics imagine, at different intervals—as to justify Meres's encomium of them, which we make no scruple of repeating here, were it only to disabuse some of our readers of the notion that Shakspeare's contemporaries were insensible to his greatness. 'As the soul of Euphorbus' (says Meres) 'was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet, witty soul of Ovid lives in

\* 'Palladis Tamia,' printed at London in 1598. The testimony of Meres is the more valuable because from his reference to Shakspeare's 'Sugred Sonnets among his private friends,' which were not printed until long after, Meres must have been either one of those 'private friends' or well acquainted with them.

† Jonson's best comedy, 'Every Man in His Humour,' appeared, two years before Meres' book, in 1596, the year in which Shakspeare lost his only son.

‡ On the authority of Greene, in his 'Groatsworth of Wit,' published in 1592, in which the line—

'O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide !' (3 *Hen. VI.* i. 4)

is travestied into—'tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide.' It is also supposed that the first part of 'Henry VI.' is alluded to by Nash in his 'Piers Penniless,' written the same year.

pellucidous and honey-tongued Shakspeare. Witness his "Venus and Adonis," his "Lucrece," his Sugred Sonnets among his private friends.'

The rapidity with which Shakspeare poured forth his wonderful conceptions, the meteor-like flight with which he emerged from the throng of his contemporaries, the endless profusion of his genius, the most consummate judgment and knowledge of his art and its requirements, combined with a luxuriant energy and a teeming imagination that seemed utterly inexhaustible, might well have provoked the wonder and envy of his less favoured rivals. Their most careless and irregular productions, thrown off under the pressure of necessity or on the impulse of passion, could not keep pace with the creations of Shakspeare, in whom the deliberate energy, the studiousness, the conscious reticence of the artist are as conspicuous as the fertility of his imagination and the impetuosity of his genius. 'In beauty,' says Lord Bacon, 'that of favor is more than that of color: and that of decent (becoming) and gracious motion, more than that of favor.' In the plays of the poet's contemporaries, it is the beauty of colour, of graceful and harmonious language; their stateliness never moves; the action never advances, or by fits and by intervals, like human mechanism. In Shakspeare, on the other hand, the action, like Nature, is ever advancing, never still; rapid, but imperceptible; 'like the summer grass—unseen, but crescent in its faculty.' Even in the feeblest of his plays—if such a term can be applied to them—this quality is remarkable. He gets over the ground with astonishing rapidity—an excellence lost to us, who read Shakspeare in the closet and never see him on the stage. He never loiters or lingers in some cool nook, or wastes his time over subordinate details, or turns out of the current to strand in muddy or shallow water, enamoured of his own wit or his own sublimity. But as he rushes straight on in a fuller, more rapid, and ever increasing volume, sparkling and dashing like a river, all sorts of colours, of sights and sounds, grave and gay, pathetic and joyous, glittering and transparent, dance along the surface; now gleaming fathoms deep to the bottom, now startling and now amusing, now freezing us with emotions of uncontrollable delight, now calling up tears from some sealed and unbroken deep within us.

That the judgment of his contemporaries, though often faulty, was not always at fault is clear from the notices illustrative of Shakspeare in the scattered literature of his times. It is certain that the greatness of his genius as a dramatist was recognised from the first. Greene would scarcely have warned his associates



of their approaching eclipse by this 'new Johannes Factotum,' alluding to the universality of the poet's genius, had Shakspeare's audience shown themselves indifferent to these his earliest productions, or slow in recognising their sterling merits. Nor would Meres have ventured to speak of Shakspeare in such high terms of admiration had not popular estimation guided and sanctioned his judgment. We have, besides, the admission of Chettle, a contemporary playwright, the friend of Greene, and editor of his 'Groat'sworth of Wit.' In defending himself from his supposed share in Greene's malevolent insinuations, which had given just offence to Shakspeare, Marlowe, and others, Chettle says: \* 'With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted; and with one of them (Marlowe) I care not if I never be. The other (Shakspeare) whom at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had;—that I did not I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanour no less civil, than he *excellent* in the quality he professes. Besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art.' †

These testimonies alike to his genius and the spotless integrity of the poet's conduct, so different from that of most contemporary dramatists, are unimpeachable. The poet's worldly prosperity kept pace with his reputation. The occupation of an actor alone was a profitable one in those days, and with ordinary prudence was sure to lead, not only to competence, but to wealth.‡ But with his occupation as an actor Shakspeare combined that of a successful and prolific dramatist; and the two together soon raised him from the condition of a needy adventurer in 1585 to that of a well-to-do possessor of lands and

\* 'Kind Hearts' Dream,' published in 1592.

† Euphuism all over.

‡ Thus, in Greene's 'Never Too Late,' in the interview between the player and Roberto (*i.e.* Greene), on the latter asking how the player proposed to mend Roberto's fortune—'Why, easily,' quoth he, 'and greatly to your benefit; for men of my profession get by scholars their whole living.' 'What is your profession?' said Roberto. 'Truly, sir,' said he, 'I am a player.' 'A player!' quoth Roberto. 'I took you rather for a gentleman of great living; for if by outward habit men should be answered (judged), I tell you, you would be taken for a *substantial* man.' 'So am I, where I dwell,' quoth the player, 'reported; able at my proper cost to build a windmill.' He then proceeds to say that at his outset in life he was fain to carry his 'playing fardel,' that is, his bundle of stage properties, 'a foot back;' but now his show of 'playing apparel' would sell for more than 200*l.* In the end he offers to engage Greene to write plays for him: 'for which you shall be well paid, if you will take the pains.' We know from the sequel that though Greene was extravagant, and never to be trusted if paid beforehand, 'seldom he wanted, his labours were so well esteemed.' See the quotation in Dyce's preface to 'Works of Greene,' p. 20, ed. 1861.

houses.\* In 1597 he purchased *The Great House* at Stratford-upon-Avon, described as 'one messuage, two barns, two gardens, and two orchards, with appurtenances.' The same year his father, formerly in declining circumstances, applied for a grant of arms, and passed from the condition of a yeoman to that of a gentleman; and the same year he filed a bill in Chancery against the son of the mortgagee who unjustly detained Ashbies, the hereditary property of the poet's mother.† Next year the poet is assessed for a tenement in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, valued at 5*l.*, and is asked by his friend Richard Quincy for the loan of 30*l.*

From this year, until 1602, when the fertility of his invention poured forth some of the grandest of his productions, and popular judgment placed him far above all his contemporaries, his progress to wealth and fame was equally rapid. In 1602 he purchased 107 acres of arable land in Stratford for the sum of 320*l.*, somewhat more than 1000*l.* in modern computation; five months after, in the same year, one Walter Getley surrendered a house to the poet in Dead Lane, Stratford; at Michaelmas term, William Shakspeare, gentleman, as he is now generally styled, bought from Hercules Underhill, for 60*l.*, a property consisting of a messuage with two orchards, two gardens, two barns, and their appurtenances. In May, 1603, when James I. came to the crown, a privy seal was granted by the king to his servants 'Laurence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Philippes, John Hemmings, Henry Condell,' and the rest of their associates, 'to use and exercise the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage plays, and such other, like as they have already studied, or hereafter shall use or study,' in their usual house, the Globe, or elsewhere within the king's dominions. And James, who was by no means the fool that posterity represents him to have been, showed his discrimination by

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\* No account is to be made of the document which professes to describe Shakspeare as holding a share in the theatre as early as 1596. With that falls to the ground the whole modern hypothesis that as sharer or manager his time was employed in putting up the productions of other dramatists, older or contemporary, and fitting them for the stage. What with sonnets, poems, plays of his own, once a year, and acting in his own plays and those of his contemporaries, what room, occasion, need, or opportunity could Shakspeare have had for such an employment?

† In the grant he is called John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the co. of Warwick, gent., whose parent, great-grandfather and late antecessor, for his faithful and approved service to the late most prudent prince Henry VII., of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements given to him in those parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued by some descents in good reputation.'

frequently commanding Shakspeare's plays to be acted at court.\* In 1605 the poet added to his property at Stratford by purchasing the unexpired lease of the tithes of Stratford and the adjoining hamlets for the sum of 440*l.* sterling; in modern computation 1400*l.*

It is not known at what period he retired from the stage and settled finally in Stratford. By the spring of 1613 he had lost his father, his mother, and his only son. Two daughters remained: Susanna, married, in 1607, to Dr. Hall, a physician at Stratford; and Judith, married to a vintner named Quiney, of the same place, in 1616. During the last three years of his life notices of his purchases and employments become more rare. In 1613 the Globe Theatre was burnt, and it is gratuitously assumed that many of the poet's manuscripts perished in the flames. Had it been so, we should hardly have failed of finding some notice of such a disastrous loss in the preface and dedication to the first collected edition of his works. Nor, considering the poet's immature death, his various employments, and the number of his plays which have come down to us, is it probable that any considerable portion of his writings has perished.

The manner of his death is uncertain. His will, still preserved in the Prerogative Office, is dated March 25, 1616. The poet's handwriting, never very good, if we may judge from the few signatures that have been preserved, and fifty years more antiquated than that of Sir Thomas Lucy, is feeble, shaky, and imperfect; very little like what might have been expected from one whose practice in writing must have been considerable, and who had in his time filled many reams of manuscript. His death did not occur until the 23rd April following. It would seem, therefore, that his death was far from sudden; and this alone would suffice to invalidate the tradition, circulated forty-five years after, that the poet died of a fever contracted at a merry meeting with Drayton and Ben Jonson. His bust in Stratford Church, his portrait by Droeshout prefixed to the first folio edition of his works, and the whole tenor of his life, contradict altogether the supposition that the poet was intemperate. If the

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\* In the account of 'The Revels at Court,' notices are found of the following: 'Othello,' 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' 'Measure for Measure,' 'Comedy of Errors,' in 1604; 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'Henry V.,' 'Merchant of Venice,' twice in 1605; at Whitehall, 'King Lear,' which had already in 1608 passed through three editions; in 1611, 'The Tempest' and 'The Winter's Night's Tale.' In 1613, on the marriage of James's daughter Elizabeth with the prince-palatine, the representation of Shakspeare's plays furnished a great part of the entertainment; among them are 'The Tempest,' 'The Twins' Tragedy' (supposed to be the 'Comedy of Errors'), 'Much Ado about Nothing,' 'The Winter's Tale,' 'Sir John Falstaff,' 'Othello,' and 'Julius Cæsar.'

opinion of competent judges may be taken, the bust was executed from a cast taken after death. It was certainly coloured after life, and until it was painted over by Malone—a greater crime to Shakspeare's memory than Mr. Gaskill's destruction of the famous mulberry tree—it represented the poet exactly as he appeared to his contemporaries. The eyes were a bright hazel, the hair and beard auburn; the doublet was scarlet, covered with a loose black sleeveless gown. As in Droeshout's portrait, the forehead is remarkably high and broad; in fact, the immense volume of the forehead is its most striking feature. The predominant characteristic of the whole is that of a composed, self-possessed, resolute, and vigorous Englishman, of a higher intellectual stamp than usual, but not so far removed from the general national type as we should have been inclined to expect from his writings.

'Of the several works of Shakspeare—plays and poems—there were prior to 1616 in circulation, in all, no fewer than between sixty and sixty-five editions. Some of these reached as many as six editions within a period of not more than twenty-one years. This argues of itself an extensive popularity, especially when we reflect on the small number of the reading public of his day. If we take the lowest estimate of the editions (sixty), and suppose each issue to have consisted of the lowest possible paying number (300 say), we should have in circulation no fewer than 18,000 copies of the productions of the great dramatist in print during his lifetime.\* This ingenious computation applies only to the plays and poems printed before the *first* collected edition of Shakspeare's works in 1623. That folio contains thirty-six plays; one-half of these, so far as is known, never got beyond the footlights; and, therefore, we may presume, were printed by the editors of that volume from the author's manuscript. Among that number are to be found 'Macbeth,' 'Timon of Athens,' 'Cymbeline,' 'The Tempest,' all the Roman plays, 'Twelfth Night,' and 'The Winter's Tale.'†

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\* 'Shakspeare, a Critical Biography,' by Samuel Neil, p. 59.

† The following is a list of the 4to. and their various editions, before the folio of 1623. The letter *M* is prefixed to those mentioned by Meres.

*M* 1594. *Titus Andronicus*, entered at Stationers' Hall Feb. 6, 1594, first edition not known to exist; 2nd ed. 1600; 3rd ed. 1611.

1595. *Henry VI.*, Part III., 1595.

*M* 1597. *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597. 1599, 1609 *bis*?

*M* " *Richard II.*, 1597, 1598, 1608 *bis*, 1615.

*M* " *Richard III.*, 1597, 1598, 1602, 1605, 1612, 1621? 1622.

*M* 1598. *Love's Labor's Lost*, 1598.

*M* " *Henry IV.*, Part I., 1598, 1599, 1604, 1608, 1613, 1622.

*Henry IV.*, Part II., 1600.

1600.

No collected edition of Shakspeare's dramatic works appeared until 1623, seven years after the poet's death. The volume was ushered into the world by two of his former dramatic associates, John Heminge and Henric Condell, to whom in conjunction with Burbage, the famous actor, Shakspeare had left in his will '20s. and 8d. a piece to buy them rings.\* But Burbage died on March 16, 1619;† and if, as is not improbable, he had been originally associated with Heminge and Condell in preparing Shakspeare's dramatic works for the press, his death before the appearance of the volume prevented his name from being joined with theirs in their glorious task. Not one word appears in Shakspeare's will as to the disposal of his papers and manuscripts, or of his shares in the theatres, if

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1600. *Henry V.*, 1600, 1602, 1608.  
*M* „ *Merchant of Venice*, 1600 *bis*.  
*M* „ *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1600 *bis*.  
*M?* „ *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1600.  
1602. *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1602, 1619.  
1603. *Hamlet*, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1611.  
1605. *Lear*, 1608 *bis*.  
1609. *Pericles*, 1609, 1611, 1619.  
„ *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609 *bis*.  
1622. *Othello*, 1622.

*Contention of York and Lancaster.*

Old plays: *Richard III.*, 1594; *Taming of a Shrew*, 1594, 1607.

\* 'And to my fellows, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, xxvj.s. viij.d. a piece, to buy them rings.'

† Burbage, or Burbadge, according to Malone, was one of the principal sharers of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. In a letter written in 1613 (Harl. MSS. 7002), the actors at the Globe are called *Burbadge's Company*. In Jonson's 'Masque of Christmas,' 1616, the year that is of Shakspeare's death, Venus, in the character of a deaf fire-woman, is made to say of Cupid: 'I could have had money enough for him, an I would have been tempted and have let him out by the week to the king's players. Master Burbage has been about and about with me, and so has old Master Hemings too; they have need of him.'—*Shakspr.* iii. 230, ed. 1803.

Heminge and Condell are said to have been printers as well as actors, but Malone thinks that there is no authority for this statement. Probably it arose from their connection with Shakspeare's printed works. At all events, had they been printers by occupation, it is reasonable to surmise that their names would have been found on the title pages of some of the earlier copies of Shakspeare's plays. All the payments made by the Treasurer of the Chamber in 1613, and subsequently, for plays performed at Court, are 'to John Heminge and the rest of his fellows' (Malone, *ib.* 244). In his will Heminge directs that if a sufficient sum cannot be raised from his ordinary chattels towards the payment of his debts, a moiety of the profits which he has 'by lease in the several playhouses of the Globe and Black-friars' shall be set aside for that purpose. In another legacy he says: 'I give and bequeath unto every my fellows and sharers, his Majesty's servants, which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of 10s. a piece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.' Heminge died in 1630.

Henry Condell, whose name appears in the privy seal of James I., 1603, in conjunction with those of Shakspeare, Burbage, and Heminge, died in 1627. Malone thinks that both Burbage and Heminge were natives of Shuttery, near Stratford (*ib.* 233).

at the time of his death he possessed any. If Ward's statement be true that Shakspeare during the closing years of his life furnished annually two plays for the stage,\* if it be true that the poet's income was considerable, that he made no purchases of any moment after 1605, that he was besides in the very zenith of his fame and the most popular author of his times, it will be difficult to account for two things: how was it, if he sold the copyright of his plays to his fellows of the Globe and Blackfriars, that he was no richer in 1616 than in 1605? Or if he was richer, how did he dispose of his wealth? From the tithes which he had purchased at Stratford he derived an income of 120*l*. a year; not less than 400*l*. a year, according to our present computation. He was not careless or extravagant in his habits, had one daughter only, after 1607, and his wife dependent on his exertions. Did he then retain the copyright of his plays, in his own hands, during this later period of his life, intending to publish them himself, like his contemporary Ben Jonson? Or was he as indifferent to money as he is said to have been to literary fame? The former of these hypotheses is set at rest by the various documents produced by Mr. Halliwell and others, all of which go to show that the possession of the most transcendent genius is not incompatible with the virtues of economy, regularity, and despatch. His supposed indifference to literary fame finds no countenance in his writings, still less in the evidence of his contemporaries.† Thus we find Chettle apologizing to Shakspeare as one of those who had taken offence at the disparaging remarks of Greene in his 'Groatsworth of Wit,' to the publication of which Chettle had been instrumental. Again, Heywood in his 'Apology for Actors,' published in 1612, alluding to the trick of a publisher named Jaggard, who had brought out a copy of 'Venus and Adonis,' with two love epistles between Paris and Helen, under the general title, 'by Wm. Shakspeare,' says, in reclaiming his property: 'I must necessarily resent a manifest injury done me in that work by [its] taking the

\* That Ward's statement was not very far wrong will appear from the following considerations:—Shakspeare wrote in all 37 plays, including 'Pericles.' Meres mentions 12 plays as existing in 1598. If to these be added 'Pericles' and the three parts of 'Henry VI.,' that would give 16; or 19 to be written in the seventeen years and few months following. From 1597 to 1605, or 1606, seven plays only, including the first sketch of 'Hamlet,' appear to have been published, five in 1600, one in 1602, and 'Hamlet' in 1603. Between 'Hamlet' and 'Lear' five years elapsed (1602-1607) without any entry of Shakspeare's writings at Stationers' Hall. Had he ceased writing all that time, or ceased to attract publishers?

† That Shakspeare permitted inaccurate copies of his plays to be circulated in print is one thing, to assume that he must have done so from indifference to literary distinction is another. Moreover, in his case, as in that of many others, literary fame was money, to which he was certainly not indifferent.

two epistles of Paris to Helen and of Helen to Paris, and printing them in the name of another (Shakspere); which may put the world in opinion I might steal them from him; and he to do himself right hath since published them in his own name. But as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath published them; *so the author I know [was] much offended with Mr. Jaggard, that altogether unknown to him presumed to make so bold with his name.*' Such words are not compatible with Shakspeare's presumed indifference to the fate of his writings.

With these remarks we return to the consideration of the first folio and Shakspeare's connection with it.

It is a very handsome volume, on which no expense has been spared in respect either of paper or type. It consists of 962 pages in double columns, not including the dedication, preface, or introductory verses. Taking 60 as the average number of lines in a column, the lines in all would amount to 116,402. All circumstances considered, it was one of the most sumptuous and expensive works which up to that time had appeared from the English press in the English language. For size, costliness, and beauty, there had been few works like it; certainly no works of fiction. So far therefore as concerned expenses of this kind, Heminge and Condell had not shown themselves unmindful of what was due to Shakspeare's memory.\*

Nor in other respects had they shown themselves careless or inconsiderate in the execution of their task. It is not pretended even by those who have been most severe in condemning their labours that they omitted from their collection any genuine drama of Shakspeare, with the exception of 'Pericles.' Modern research from that time to this, sharpened with all the anxiety of achieving distinction which could not fail the man that discovered a single new play or even a few lines from the poet's pen, has added nothing to the list of the dramas as they have come down to us since the first edition by Heminge and Condell. Very few dramatic authors have been so fortunate in this respect; very few writings have been so much indebted to posthumous care. Supposing it were true that these editors admitted into their collection plays of doubtful authenticity, does any one imagine they would have done better if, like some of Shakspeare's more recent critics, they had rejected 'Titus Andronicus,' the three parts of 'Henry VI.,' or 'Henry VIII.'?† Or if, laying down a theory of

\* The sale of Foxe's 'Martyrs' was secured by government. Hollinshed's 'Chronicles' and the works of Sir Thomas More occupy the next place in size. Then came the bulky translations and histories of Grimestone, North, and others, generally published by Islip or Bill, the royal printers.

† 'Pericles' does not appear in the first folio.

their own as to what was or was not worthy of their great contemporary, they had exercised a principle of selection according to their own principles of criticism, would they have deserved so well of posterity as they have done? We are under infinite obligations to them for what they did; that obligation being no less than this—that whatever emanated from the poet's hand 'they would not willingly let die.' The work was a large one, and unusually costly. The poet's family could not undertake the task, and it is probable never would have done.\*

The editors' labours could scarcely have been other than disinterested. 'We have but collected them [the plays],' they say in their dedication of the work to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, 'and done an office to the dead, to procure his orphans guardians; *without ambition either of self-profit or fame*: only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive, as was our Shakspeare.' Nor is there any reason for suspecting the sincerity of their statement. What pecuniary advantage was to be expected from so costly an enterprise? The impression of the book could not have been large, and when the expenses of publishers and printers had been paid, very little profit would remain for the editors; if, indeed, editors in those cases received any remuneration.

What motives then could they have for undertaking so responsible a task beyond that of friendship for the dead? As we have said, Shakspeare left no directions in his will touching the disposal of his writings. Were they then acting in their corporate capacity as managers of the Globe Theatre, or merely as personal friends of the deceased, guided solely by the dictates of personal affection? Why publish in their corporate capacity that which could bring them little or no corporate profit? Why divulge to rival theatres dramas of which the exclusive copyright and privilege of acting were so valuable? Their language is scarcely susceptible of any other than one plain and obvious interpretation. They say in their Dedication: 'Since your Lordships have been pleased to think these trifles something

\* The only person competent to the task was Dr. Hall, the physician, married to the poet's eldest and favourite child, Susannah. But he seems to have been wholly indifferent to the fame of his great father-in-law. Yet Dr. Hall was not an unlettered man.

Shakspeare's widow died in 1623, the year when the first folio appeared; Dr. Hall in 1635; his wife, Susannah, in 1649; their daughter Elizabeth, remembered with a legacy of 100*l.* in her grandfather's will, and afterwards Lady Barnard, in 1670. Judith, his other daughter (who signs but does not write her name), died in 1662; her husband some time later. Yet not one of them thought of recording a single fact or anecdote of their relative's life, or of preserving a scrap of his writing. Was it indifference or ingratitude? Or had Puritanism taught them to be ashamed of the name of Shakspeare?



heretofore, and have prosecuted both *them* and *their author*, living, with so much favour; we hope that they, outliving him, and he not having the fate, *common with some*, to be *executor to his own writings*, you will use the like indulgence toward them, you have done unto their parent.' And in their notice to the reader:—

'It had been a thing, we confess, worthy to have been wished, that the author himself had lived to have set forth and overseen his own writings. But since it hath been ordained otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envy his friends the office of their care and pain to have collected and published them: and so to have published them, as where before you were abused with divers stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors that exposed (sold) them; even those are now offered to your view cured, and perfect of their limbs, and all the rest,\* absolute in their numbers,† as he conceived them: who, as he was a happy imitator of nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.' ‡

Now these expressions certainly imply that Shakspeare had the right, common with others, of being the 'executor to his own writings.' They imply also that he had not parted with that right until he was surprised by an untimely death. Ben Jonson, like Shakspeare, wrote for the stage; like Shakspeare, he received money from the theatre for his dramatic writings; but this did not deprive Jonson of the copyright of his works, or prevent him from publishing his plays with dedications to various friends. It is then equally consonant with analogy, as with the expressions of Heminge and Condell, to infer that Shakspeare possessed the same right, and was as much at liberty to use it as Jonson; and careful consideration of the extracts already quoted will lead us to conclude that Shakspeare did intend not only to claim but to exercise that right. It were 'to have been wished that the author himself *had lived* to have set forth and overseen his own writings.' Would this expression have been employed had Shakspeare been so wholly indifferent to the fate of his works as is sometimes assumed? Would his friends have merely expressed a wish that he should have *lived* to superintend the publication of his own

\* That is, those which had never appeared in print before.

† *I.e.* complete and perfect. We might have suspected this Latinism had they not been actors accustomed to such phraseology.

‡ It is to this expression that Ben Jonson refers: 'I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakspeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been,' &c. From the censure conveyed in Jonson's remark, it is obvious that he was not the author of this address, as some have surmised.

works, when upon the ordinary hypothesis such a wish would have been equally fruitless had his life been longer or shorter? Then again their expression, 'we *have* scarce received from him a blot in his papers,' seems to be incompatible with the notion that Heminge and Condell were speaking in the names of the Company, or were referring to their engagement with Shakspeare many years since when he commenced dramatist, and not to more recent and personal events.

This plain and obvious interpretation of their words is the most probable and the most consistent. Their meaning surely is, that Shakspeare had intended to collect and publish his own works, and to rescue them not only from oblivion but from the inaccuracies and deformities of careless and surreptitious copyists; that he had by him at the time of his death manuscripts of those plays which had never been printed, and some of the printed quartos; that he was employed in altering and enlarging or recasting the latter when death surprised him at his unfinished task; and on his death-bed, by his own directions, his papers were transferred to Heminge and Condell, to prepare for the press. That their statement is true in the main is undeniable; for from nobody except from Shakspeare could these editors have obtained the manuscripts of twenty original plays, of which no other copies are supposed to exist except in their edition, and those augmentations of the quarto copies which are found for the first time in their folio. Their credibility has been disputed, because whilst they inveigh against spurious copies of Shakspeare's plays, it has been asserted that their text is in many instances derived from the quartos. The statement incautiously made by Malone has been repeated from critic to critic. But all they really say is, that whereas people had been 'abused with *divers* stolen and surreptitious copies'—an assertion for which there was abundant evidence, without supposing that they intended to condemn *all* the printed copies. Considering the total wreck and devastation of many early dramatic works, their statement might be literally true, and yet not be aimed at *any* one of the quartos which have come down to us.\*

If the explanation of Heminge and Condell's words, as here suggested, be the true one, sufficient reason will appear why the text of the quartos should sometimes be reproduced exactly in the folio and sometimes be widely departed from. That great inaccuracies should be found in the type—that words and lines should have been transposed and make nonsense of that which

\* Thus, of the 'Hamlet' of 1603 only two incomplete copies are supposed to exist; of the edition of 1604 only three; of the 'Lear' of 1605 one only; of 'The Taming of the Shrew,' one only.

was sense before—will not show that the editors' account of their labours is untrue or fraudulent, but that either they did not superintend the press or were unskilful in the mysteries of typal corrections. Probably both: they were plain men who had their own occupations to attend to, and when they had consigned their precious deposit to the printer's hands, they might naturally think that their task was ended, and they had fulfilled their debt of 'gratitude both to the living and the dead.\*' Such, we fear not, will be the verdict of those who judge their labours impartially.

This folio was ushered into the world, according to the prevailing fashion, by commendatory verses from the pens of Ben Jonson † and others. It is divided into three parts, with distinct pagination. The first contains the twelve Comedies, beginning with 'The Tempest' and ending with 'The Winter's Tale'; the second the *Histories* (as they are here called), commencing with 'King John' and ending with 'Henry VIII.'; the third the twelve Tragedies, beginning with 'Troilus and Cressida,' which is not paged, as if its insertion were an afterthought, and ending with 'Cymbeline.' What authority the editors had for this arrangement, or by what principles they were guided in their selection,

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\* If Shakspeare's handwriting was at all like his signature, it was by no means easy to decipher. If we may speak dogmatically upon such slender proofs as we now possess, he learnt to write after the old German text-hand then in use at the grammar school of Stratford. It was in this respect fifty years behindhand, as any one may see by comparing Shakspeare's signature with that of Sir Thomas Lucy, Lord Bacon, or John Lilly. The wonder is how with such a hand he could have written so much.

† The fact is important; for it at once disposes of an hypothesis started of late, that Jonson, and not Shakspeare, was the author of 'Henry VIII.' Is it at all likely that Jonson would have allowed one of his own plays to be inserted in this volume as Shakspeare's without any remonstrance? Or supposing that it was composed in a sort of literary partnership by the two dramatists, would Jonson have failed to notice a fact so agreeable to his vanity? Leonard Digges, a poet who composed two copies of verses, one prefixed to the first and the other to the second folio, explicitly refutes the notion that Shakspeare either joined in such strange partnerships, or borrowed scenes from his predecessors or contemporaries:

• Look thorough  
This whole book, thou shalt find he doth not borrow  
One phrase from Greeks, nor Latins imitate,  
Nor once from vulgar languages translate:  
Nor plagiary-like from others glean;  
Nor begs he from each witty friend uncess  
To piece his acts with.'

The same writer insists on the great superiority of Shakspeare in popular attraction to Jonson:

'Let but Falstaff come,  
Hal, Poins, the rest, you scarce shall have a room  
All is so pestered (crowded). Let but Beatrice  
And Benedick be seen;—he, in a trice  
The cockpit, galleries, boxes, all are full.'

it is not now possible to discover. It is clear that the order of the plays was not determined by the dates of publication. Had Messrs. Heminge and Condell thought of ascertaining the strict chronological order of the plays, they would have furnished us with a clue to the solution of many difficulties, and contributed a most important chapter to the literary history of the poet. For this we have unhappily no sufficient evidence. No two critics can agree precisely on this perplexing question. The arrangement which commends itself to the historical research or critical taste of one inquirer is unceremoniously set aside by his successors as preposterous or untenable. It might have been supposed that as Shakspeare wrote for a livelihood, as soon as one drama was composed he would dispose of the copyright to some theatrical company, and the publication of the play or its entry at Stationers' Hall would have assisted the inquirer in determining the date of its composition, especially as the poet's productions were eagerly sought after. But even this evidence is not wholly reliable. Meres mentions the Sonnets in 1598, though they did not appear in print until 1609. Of 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' also alluded to by Meres, no copy is known to exist prior to that of the folio in 1623. The earliest editions of 'The Midsummer Night's Dream' and 'The Merchant of Venice' are of 1600.\* But although the editors of the folio did not trouble themselves with adopting any strict chronological arrangement, it may be asserted as a *general* truth that the Comedies belong to the earlier period of Shakspeare's life, the Histories to his maturer years, and the Tragedies, especially the Roman plays, to the succeeding epoch. In other words, whilst 'Hamlet' (as we now have it), 'Lear,' 'Macbeth,' 'Othello,' 'Timon of Athens,' and the Roman plays, belong to the reign of James I., the Histories and most of the Comedies, with the exception of 'The Tempest,' were composed in the reign of Elizabeth.† Born and disciplined in the vigorous, passionate, but practical age of the Tudors, the genius of the poet took a wider range and sublimer flight when the accession of the Stuarts brought the nation into more familiar contact with the great problems of nature and the inscrutable destiny of man. Until the close of the sixteenth century he had failed to put forth all his strength; it was perhaps scarcely known to himself. Flashing with wit and liveliness, inventive, prolific, and versatile, the quaint, the dry, the humorous, the exceptional, were irresistibly attractive to a temperament as yet

\* As they are entered the same year at Stationers' Hall it is unlikely that they should have been printed before.

† 'Titus Andronicus' is Roman only in name, the treatment and colouring are Italian.

unsteeped in affliction, that 'doffed the world aside and let it pass.' For the world had upon the whole used the poet kindly—laughed at the sallies of his wit, lent itself with childlike docility to the practical jokes and endless humour of Falstaff, or shed happy and complacent tears over the sorrows of Romeo and his Juliet. Rarely, with the exception of 'Richard II.,' had the genius of Shakspeare travelled into the regions of the sublime and mysterious. In no instance, until the appearance of 'Hamlet' in 1603, had he attempted to show how closely this world of sight merges on the confines of the spiritual, or how there is more than the measured philosophy of mere motives to determine the fate and actions of mankind. Gradually the veil was uplifted; the narrow sphere of the visible—sufficing at one time for all the poet's sympathies; at one time an inexhaustible fund for his keen perception of human passions and eccentricities—was gradually enlarged; and nature presented itself to his eyes in the fulness of its strength and the extremity of its weakness. Sadder and more solemn grows the poet's vision; the humorous and the comical seldom find a place in his maturer productions; but instead of them the omnipresence, the omnipotence (as it were) of evil. Latent infirmity within, dogged, encouraged, and lured to its destruction by invisible wickedness without; momentary weakness trammelling up in its never-ending train gigantic consequences; Heaven holding out no relief, no sign, to oppressed innocence; virtue dragged from its height; valour in Macbeth stooping to crime; honour and fidelity in Othello ignoble victims to bat-like suspicion; generosity betrayed in Timon to selfishness; grand resolutions the fool of accident in Hamlet:—these are the themes of his maturer powers. If the poet still deals with the exceptional and uncommon—and that in the mind of Shakspeare is of the essence of tragedy—it is no longer the exceptional or eccentric in humours, manners, diction, taste, but of intellect, imagination, and passion. The subtlest forms of insanity striking its thin and poisonous fibres into the strongest reason, sapping by unseen and unconscious degrees the noblest intellectual faculties, warping the purest affections to its own masterless bias; the broad clear daylight of the mind, now overcast, now yielding to darkness, until it succumbs to total eclipse; the light alternating with the shade; the thin edge separating sanity from insanity; the various shapes and tricks of moodiness, from the dreaminess of unnatural calm, to the frantic rage of Lear and his heart-broken sorrow: these are the scenes on which Shakspeare dwells in the latter epoch of his life, and has described with inimitable power, insight, and fidelity.

Morning and night meet, as in Nature, in the poet's writings  
—the

—the comic and the tragic. In the full flush and luxuriance of his powers he rises upon us bright, lively, and jocund as the dawn; we know not where he will lead us in the abundance of his poetical caprice, what stores of mirth and wanton wiles, what brilliant and ever-changing hues will sparkle, dazzle, and allure us in his ambrosial course. But that bright morning—unlike the morning of many of the poet's contemporaries—goes down in a solemn and glorious sunset, canopied with clouds of gold and purple.

For the plots of his comedies Shakspeare was chiefly indebted to French and Italian novelists; for his histories to Hall and Hollinshed; and for his classical plays to the 'Lives of Plutarch,' translated by North, and to such versions of the classical authors as had appeared in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Old English authors, plays, chronicles, and ballads furnished him with the groundwork of his tragedies; and this readiness of the poet to lean on the invention of others, however feeble and meagre, rather than rely on his own superior resources for the framework of his plays, has often been quoted as an instance of his carelessness, or at best of his unwillingness to venture upon untrodden ground. He preferred to use the wonderful superstructure of his genius on incidents already familiar to his audience, trusting to his power of investing them with a new character, a more profound or more lively significance, than, like many of his contemporaries, owe his popularity to the horror, the extravagance, the involution, or the novelty of his story. But may not the true solution of this hankering after old and established facts and traditions be found in Shakspeare's intense realism? He had a profound reverence—not Aristotle more so—for everything that carried with it the stamp of popular recognition. His strongest convictions, the highest dictates of his taste and feelings, are not always proof against this 'settled purpose of his soul.' He clung to it with an intense earnestness, as if to abandon it was to commit himself to a sea of doubt and perplexity—a wandering maze without a footing. To Bacon it was enough that any theory, any opinion, any fact should be generally accepted to be unceremoniously rejected. 'A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure'; and if truth itself were to become popular, it must be plentifully alloyed with falsehood.\* The perfect self-confidence of Bacon, who at sixteen passed judgment on Aristotle, as barren and unfruitful, might set him above the necessity of any such fixed points. But

\* Or, as Bacon pithily expresses it: '*Auctoritas pro veritate, non veritas pro auctoritate sit*' (p. 105).

then Bacon's vision was limited ; his mind and attention, earth-fixed and bound up in the investigation of material laws, were in no danger of wandering and being lost in the regions of infinite space, as the eye glanced 'from Heaven to earth, from earth to Heaven.' His ethical creed might have been comprised in the words, 'Man delights not me, nor woman either.' But Shakspeare, with stronger, wider, kindlier sympathies, as untrammelled by systems as Bacon, working out for himself, in solitude and unassisted, as true a method of inquiry, as profound an observer as Bacon, as convinced as he of a divine order underlying and overlapping the seeming confusions of this world, dreaded quite as much as Bacon could do the danger of mistaking for realities the dreams of his own phantasy. So, wiser than Lord Bacon, and more truly philosophical, instead of despising popular belief, instead of ignoring it, as if it had no foundation except in falsehood, Shakspeare accepted it, probed the foundation on which it rested, brought into clearer light the half or whole truths enveloped in it, and gave form and coherent meaning to the confused and incoherent creeds of mankind.

Perhaps also to one who carved out for himself a wholly untrodden path like Shakspeare, who had little of the countenance of the learned or the confidence of rules and systems to support him, a fixed faith somewhere was the more indispensable. He was living in a sceptical age, when the freshness of faith and that confidence in the rising glories of Protestantism, which had inspired the poetry of Spenser, were fast dying out. Many had relapsed into Romanism, many had fallen into atheism ; the narrow creed of Puritanism could not accommodate itself to the larger sympathies and growing intelligence of the age. It viewed with the utmost consternation and alarm divines like Hooker securely trespassing beyond the pale of its doctrinal conventionalism, and philosophers like Bacon poring over 'the book of God's works,' as a derogation to the 'book of God's word.' Sympathizing with Romanism and Protestantism so far as they were human, Shakspeare could not be wholly satisfied with either. There was something deeper than either, perhaps common to both. And whilst the creeds of neither are distinctly enunciated in his writings, whilst neither can claim him as an especial advocate, both recognize in him a sincere and profound religious element, distinct, positive, permeant through his writings ; not thrust forward to catch applause or gild a popular sentiment, but a pure, dry vestal light, equally free from fanaticism on one side and from infidelity on the other.

Unfixed, unsettled in their faith, the men of the poet's days looked uneasily at the progress of inductive philosophy ; at its bold innovations,

novations, its new tests, its contempt for antiquity, its hatred of Aristotle. How could the faith hold its ground against the invasion of science? How could men immersed in the contemplation of second causes recognize their sole dependence upon Him who is the first cause? Philosophy might assure them that the province of revelation and the province of science were distinct—that philosophy was as remote from divinity as the terrestrial is from the celestial globe. But the divine felt, and felt truly, that it was not a question of distinct and incommensurate jurisdiction; not whether the field of science might be occupied with earnest and hardy inquirers, and the field of divinity be cultivated in the authorized mode; but how far was it likely or possible, that men who had been rigidly trained to one method of investigation, who deferred to one tribunal, from which they admitted no appeal in matters of science and material utility, could or would divest themselves of these ingrained habits, when not science but faith was concerned.\* So then, as now, the question was, How shall religion stand before the new philosophy? How shall reason be reconciled with revelation? For this neither divine nor philosopher could discover the true solution. What help may be found for it in Shakspeare, we will not undertake to say. But if the clearest and the largest transcript of human experience can contribute to that solution, that help is to be found in the dramatist. The data with which he has supplied us are as sound, as certain, as unerring a basis for axioms and deductions, as those of the inductive philosophy; like them, are founded not on notions, but observation, and have been gathered from as wide a circle of experience. We argue, and we justly argue, upon the characters in a play of Shakspeare, or any sentiment propounded by them, or their exhibition of passions and feelings, not as the poet's creations, but as historic realities. In reading or studying his dramas, we feel that we are surrounded not by phantoms, but by flesh and blood closely akin to ourselves; and no hard deduction of logic, no persuasion of any kind, can make us feel or think otherwise. They may be Romans, or Celts, or Italians, or Jews, living in the dark backward and abyss of time which we cannot realize, compacted of influences long since extinguished; yet whatever they are they are men, to us more real than those who pass before our eyes, or even tell us their own histories. For if our most intimate friends, throwing away all self-restraint and self-respect, were willing to turn themselves inside out for our inspection, neither would they be able to do it nor we to read

\* Bacon anticipated the evil; see pref. to 'Organon' p. xcvi.; anticipated, but no otherwise provided against it, except by pointing out the danger.



or understand the confused characters we should find there without some interpreter. We should be just as much unable to distinguish the writing, as the inartistic mind does a natural landscape, or an unscientific one a complex piece of machinery. Shakspeare supplies the scene, supplies the machinery, and gives with them the interpretation; not from his own conceit or any preconceived theory, not because he has any certain scientific bias or philosophic views of art, which he is desirous to work out and set before us in their concrete forms, but because he 'held the mirror up to nature.' That '*nuditas animi*' which Bacon considered indispensable for the acquisition of truth, with which the severest study must begin and end, Shakspeare possessed more than most men. Unlike the dramatists from the University, who came to their task with imperfect notions of the rules of classical antiquity; unlike Ben Jonson, who thought that a dramatist must be dictated by system, and feed and fast by regimen, to attain perfection, it was the reproach of Shakspeare that he owed nothing to art and all to nature. The reproach was unfounded; but if it be meant that he brought to his task no dry theories, no poetical dogmas, no personal prejudices to interfere with his strict and rigid observance of nature, the remark is just. No poet is more impersonal; no poet mixes up with his most admired and successful creations less of his personal predilections. It is impossible to select any one character from the whole range of his *dramatis personæ* of which it can be said, this was a favourite with the poet. In the full torrent of his wit or the excitement of his eloquence, in the successful exhibition of retributive villainy or the defence of injured innocence, he stops at the due moment, never overstepping the modesty of nature. The scene closes, the character is dropped, the moment the action requires it; and however just or true or exquisite the conception, it falls back into the void of the past from which it had been summoned, often to the greatest regret of the reader and spectator, but with no apparent regret on the part of the poet. Artists and painters in general have their likes and their dislikes, as strong but not always the same as the admirers of their works; they can rarely work successfully without such prejudices. It is natural for the artist to fall in love with his own creations, and natural that what he loves and all admire, he should repeat in various shapes again and again. But in Shakspeare this never happens. His is the truthfulness and dispassionateness of a mirror. And if the unfeeling, the erring, and the vicious are not unmitigated monsters in his pages, it is because they are human; not because his sympathies would have concealed their deformities. It is because even the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in its

its head. The utmost vice in this life is not beyond redemption; the utmost virtue not without its flaws.

But it may be thought that these remarks are inapplicable to those creations of the poet which lie beyond the pale of human experience; such as the witches, fairies, and ghosts introduced into some of his plays. Yet it is worth observing how scrupulous even in these cases the poet is of adhering to popular tradition. Only, as popular credulity is always falling before that *idolon* (against which Bacon protests), of determining the unseen by the seen, the spiritual by the material, Shakspeare is on his guard against this error. He raises the vulgar witches, with their popular familiars, the cat, the toad, the storm, and the sieve, into spirits of evil, surrounded by spiritual terrors and endowed with spiritual agencies. The fairies have persons, occupations, passions that are not human, nor are they susceptible of human attachments. The same may be said of Ariel and Caliban; the one above, as the other is below humanity. The habits of each are solitary, not social, and both are alike unsusceptible of friendship or gratitude. The ghost of Hamlet's father is another instance of the poet's wonderful mastery in uniting the vulgar and sublime. How was the poet to combine in the same personality the earthly father calling for revenge with the disembodied spirit—the substantial with the unsubstantial—the 'sans eyes, sans teeth, sans every thing,' with voice, motion, armour? But the popular notion of purgatorial fire, and the half earthly, half unearthly creed of the Middle Ages, on which he readily laid hold, were a great assistance. Here too the genius of Shakspeare delights in triumphing over the union of impossibilities. The ubiquity of the ghost is so harmonized with his local personality, that the reader detects no incongruity in the composition. Besides, when he is first discovered, as the sentinels tramp up and down the parapet of the castle, with the sea roaring fathoms down at the foot, who can tell whether the Ghost comes striding along close by in the impalpable air, or on the firm ground? That Shakspeare should have acted this part we can well believe, for none but he could have conceived how a spirit would or should talk. The characters least within the bounds of human probability are Falstaff and Richard III.: the former as the ideal humourist, the type and catholic original of those eccentricities, which Shakspeare's contemporaries tried to draw, but could not; the other as the type of what sixty years of intestine fever and bloodshed must produce—the poisonous fungus generated out of political, social, moral anarchy, all combined. Both are what Bacon would have called the *monads* of nature.

Shakspeare, then, had no idealisms which he wished to present in visible forms beyond those which would be found in the exact representation of nature. If critics have since professed to discover in his works the profoundest revelations of art and science, that is because those arts and sciences are found in the facts presented us by the poet, and not because they were consciously present to his mind.

It is this continued freshness and nudity of mind, ever open to the impressions of experience, that prevents him from falling into that mannerism or unity of style and treatment, into which, with his single exception, all other poets and artists have fallen. His mind is never stationary; he never contemplates his subject from one point of view exclusively; he is not a narrator, a spectator *ab extra*, or an epic poet, but he is intensely dramatic; that is, his own personality is sunk entirely in that of his creations. In this respect he is superior to any poet that ever lived, not merely in the complete embodiment of the characters he introduces, but in their number and variety. Every known region of the globe is laid under contribution; Greeks, Romans, Italians, French, Englishmen, Asiatics, Egyptians; ancient, modern, mediæval times. Every rank, every profession, every age and condition of life passed before his eyes;—once seen never to be forgotten; once stored up in his memory, as in a treasure-house, to be summoned forth, not as pale colourless spectres—

‘What story coldly tells, what poets feign  
At second hand and picture without brain,  
Senseless and soulless shows’—

but with their full complement of humanity, action, thought, feelings, words, infinite shades of expressions and emotions. More true also to nature than other dramatists, Shakspeare’s characters are never the mouthpiece of uniform sentiments, passions, or temptations; they are not the living embodiments of abstract qualities which never vary and never grow. The masterless passion is shadowed off by endless varieties and transitional modes of feeling. It is deposed from its seat by inferior motives, and restored when the due time comes. The brave are not always brave; the cruel not always unmerciful. Though the unity of the character is never lost sight of, it is not a stagnant uniformity, but grows and develops with the action, and is acted on by the circumstances of the play or the influences of others. As in the infinite variety of nature, form, colour, smell, contour, grow harmoniously and simultaneously, and all from the original organism of the plant—are not, as in human mechanism, the result of successive efforts—so it is in Shakspeare.

speare. The unity of the character is never lost in its diversity : the widest apparent divergence from its primitive conception and outset may be traced back, step by step, with the accuracy of a natural and necessary law. Action, speech, expression, the colour and metre of the diction, grow out of the original unity of the character, and yet mould themselves with plastic ease to every diversity of its sentiments and feelings.

It is this ever-varying posture of mind, this flexibility in the style, structure, and colour of his language, adapting itself to every movement of the thought, that makes it so difficult to determine on any common measure of the poet's mind, or, beyond the general power they exhibit, to determine what is genuine in his plays and what is not so. Conclusions derived from some supposed type of style and metre must not be trusted. How can they be, unless we shall have ascertained beforehand in any given case that they are incompatible with the poet's purpose or conception? Homer felt no difficulty in putting heroic words and heroic hexameters in the mouth of Thersites ; a catalogue of the ships falls into the same rhythm with the anger of Achilles. The common soldier, or the barbarous Thracian, utters his thoughts in as choice Greek, as musical and as sonorous as Oedipus or Agamemnon. But with Shakspeare the style and metre are moulded by the thought, and not the thought by the metre. Common every-day thoughts fall into prose ; Dogberry and Sir Toby Belch rise not into the solemnity of verse. Falstaff and the humours of Eastcheap are the prose and the comedy of Henry IV. and the palace.

That such a writer as this could not fail of being popular with his countrymen we may well believe, and the evidence that he was so is full and unquestionable. It is clear from the repeated references made to him in the writings of contemporary poets. It is clear from the influence he exercised upon the stage ; for however inferior subsequent dramatists might be to the great original, it requires very little reading to discover how much in style, composition, regularity of structure, delineation of character, they were indebted to his example. It is clear from the number of his dramas, from the repeated editions of them during his lifetime, from the competition of the booksellers to secure the right of publishing them, from the admiration, not to say the envy, of those to whom theatrical audiences were far less indulgent. Nor was this popularity purchased by vicious condescension to the popular tastes :—

\* With such a show  
As fool and figh' is.'

The

The occasional coarseness of Shakspeare is the coarseness of strong Englishmen, who 'laughed and grew fat' over jokes which might shock the delicacy and moral digestion of more refined ages, or more sensitive and sentimental races, but did them no more harm mentally than their tough beef dressed with saffron and ambergris, or their hundred-herring pies, or tainted red-deer pasties, interfered with their bodily health. Think of an age that mixed sugar with its wines, and frothed its sack with lime; Homeric in its achievements and in its appetites, in its tastes and its enterprises! But Shakspeare is refinement itself as compared with some of his contemporary and with most succeeding dramatists. He does not rely for interesting his hearers on the display of moral or mental horrors, or questionable *liaisons*, in which so much of the ancient Italian fiction abounded. If we except 'Pericles' and 'Titus Andronicus,' there is throughout his plays an absence of the monstrous and the horrible; and the poems of the poet are wholly employed in delineating action and character, either within the ordinary reach of probability, or sanctioned by historical evidence.

But his popularity is also evidenced by his extraordinary profusion. For six-and-thirty years successively he kept possession of the stage, and riveted his claims to popularity by producing seven-and-thirty dramas within that period: not of mere farce or incident—not hasty, incorrect, and tumultuous—but as much superior to the dramas of others in their ease and elaboration as for still higher qualities of genius. Not one of these plays was reproduced in another form: scarcely a word or sentence in any of the thirty-seven can be traced to other sources. This is as wonderful as anything else in Shakspeare. Other poets 'toil after him in vain.' Tears and laughter, the inseparable attendants of surpassing genius, are equally and at all times, and in all degrees, at Shakspeare's command. The wit of Dogberry and the sailors in 'The Tempest,' the wit of kings in 'Henry IV.' and 'Love's Labour's Lost,' the wit of Falstaff and of Hamlet; native wit, philosophic wit, the wit of the fat and of the lean man; wit in the half-glimmerings of dawning reason, and of reason trenching upon madness; the wit of temperaments like Mercutio's, of toppers like Sir Toby Belch, of mischief like Maria and Cleopatra, of confident villany like Richard III.—all these, and many more, flow from him with inexhaustible fertility. Nor is the pathetic and the tragic exhibited under less multiplicity of forms. Nor is it less sudden and meteoric than the wit. The reader is taken by surprise. It flashes on him with the suddenness and vividness of an electric flash. He is prostrated

prostrated and melted by it, before he is aware. Whether the reader be prepared for what is coming, whether the poet in the consciousness of his might forewarns him that he may be forearmed, or whether he darts on him by surprise, the result is the same, it is inevitable. In Falstaff's ridiculous exploits, though the whole scene is inexpressibly comic, the burst, 'By the Lord, I knew ye, as well as he that made ye,' &c., is as sudden and surprising as if it had flashed upon us out of the darkness—out of the most serious scene; as in 'Lear,' whilst every fibre of the heart is quivering with irrepressible emotion, one expression in his dying speech, 'Pray you, undo this button,' standing conspicuous in its commonplaceness against the rest, sweeps away the little self-restraint that remains to us with the suddenness and overwhelming force of a torrent.

Yet as if the ordinary construction of the drama did not furnish employment sufficient for his unbounded energies;—as if he could not crowd his conception and his characters within the allotted range, Shakspeare is fond at times of multiplying difficulties. For it is to this tendency that must be attributed the double action in some of his plays. The principal action has its shadow in some contemporaneous and subordinate one. In 'Hamlet,' avenging his father, is another Hamlet; in 'Lear,' exposed to filial ingratitude, is a Glo'ster equally ill-treated and betrayed by his bastard son—the moral and the natural bastardy. Lesser examples may be seen in 'Taming the Shrew,' and in Falstaff personating Henry IV., a comic presentiment of the serious interview between that king and his son;—as if the poet mocked his own tragedy by comedy, or lowered it by an obtrusive parallelism of inferior scale and interest. What writer besides Shakspeare would have ventured on so hazardous an experiment? Yet always certain of his victory, always sure of producing whatever effect he desires to produce, he is indifferent to any waste or profusion of his powers. How, indeed, could there be waste where the wealth was inexhaustible?

And as the theme of the poet extends to the furthest verge of human experience, and sounds all the surging depths of human consciousness, Shakspeare is equally master of the many moods and voices in which that consciousness expresses itself. He is dramatic as in 'Henry IV.,' or epic as in 'Richard II.,' or lyric as in 'Romeo and Juliet,' melodramatic in 'Titus Andronicus,' farcical in the 'Comedy of Errors,' subjective and philosophic in 'Hamlet,' a master of scholastic logic in Pandolph, of rhetoric in Mark Antony, pastoral in Perdita, elegiac in 'Cymbeline.' His songs are unapproachable; there is nothing like them, or near them in the whole range of English literature, abundant

as that literature is in this species of composition. And the beauty of these songs consists not merely in the sentiment or the exquisite adaptation of the expression, or their display of broad and obvious feelings, as opposed to those subtleties and metaphysical conceits of a later age, or in their musical structure—all of which they have in perfection—but also in their appropriateness to place and occasion. As contrasted also with later lyrics, the impersonality of Shakspeare is as strictly preserved in his songs as in other parts of his dramatic writings.

It seems then absurd to suppose that such a poet wrote in vain for the nation—that he was not appreciated in his own day. Such insensibility would have been a national disgrace and misfortune—a proof that Shakspeare was not an Englishman, or had materially failed in understanding his countrymen; the only race he did not understand. But, putting aside the praises of Ben Jonson and others, how stand the facts? The folio of 1623 was followed by the folio of 1632, and with it the sonnet in Shakspeare's praise by Milton. The poem entitled '*Allegro*' represents Shakspeare as the favourite, not merely of the Puritan poet, but as the general favourite of the stage. It is Milton that accuses Charles I. of making Shakspeare the companion of his solitary hours. One hears again of the memorable Hales of Eton, of the accomplished Lord Falkland, of the favourite Cavalier poet Sir John Suckling, discussing at their social meetings the merits of Shakspeare as compared with the Greek dramatists. Of Selden, Chief Justice Vaughan, and Lord Falkland, this anecdote is preserved, 'that Shakspeare had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but had also devised and adapted a new manner of language for that character.'<sup>\*</sup>

For though Shakspeare is familiar with all forms of human experience—ranges at will through all the provinces of history—reinvests with life the most confused, apathetic, shrivelled traditions, and compels Time 'to disgorge his ravine;' be it Lear or Macbeth, Caesar or Cymbeline, he is never antiquarian. The presentment of his characters is essentially English; their stage is the 16th century. This is the meaning of his anachro-

\* As Shakspeare was mentioned and studied by almost every poet and man of genius in succession from his own days until the Puritans for a time put a stop to dramatic representations, and refused to license dramatic writings, it is hard to say upon what grounds this supposed neglect of Shakspeare is founded. Jonson, Drayton, Suckling, Herriek, Milton, Dryden, Fuller, the wittiest of historians, and a host of others, are unimpeachable evidence of the uninterrupted popularity of Shakspeare: of no other poet can as much be said. Even Bacon, though he hated poets, and thought poetry was no better than *vinum domorum*, without mentioning Shakspeare by name, seems to allude to him in his '*Adv. of Learning*,' p. 83; whilst his essay on '*Deformity*' is little else than an analysis of Shakspeare's '*Richard III.*'

nisms, the puzzle and the triumph of small critics. The whole range of past experience had been gathered up, not as broken remnants, to be pieced together by the laborious ingenuity of a learned mechanism—not to be flaunted in the eyes of readers and spectators as an ornament to be proud of—but fused and melted by the intense imaginations and lofty aspirations of the poet's times into the reach and limits of the present. The past appeared to the apprehension of that age as much related to itself, as much a part of the common humanity of Englishmen in the reign of Elizabeth, as the Armada itself, and the perilous rivalry of the two female sovereigns. To Ascham, Cicero and Demosthenes were not merely statesmen of all times, but of his own times especially—as much as Burghley and Walsingham, or even more so. The whole age was dramatic to the core. In set speeches, in conversation, in grave state papers, the mythical and the legendary were mixed up with the historical and the present, as if all were alike real, and all intimately blended with one another. The vivid imaginations of men supplied the connecting links and brought the picture home to the mind, instead of setting it off at greater distance, as is the tendency of modern criticism to do. The common ground of all was the supposed humanity of all; varying, indeed, according to time, climate, circumstances, but in all essentials one and the same with themselves and those around them. And this habit of self-identification with past events and principles, with ancient races and parties, with the same zeal and vehemence as they infuse into current politics, has ever been, as it was then, characteristic of Englishmen. If Shakspeare availed himself of this feeling, he did much to foster it. He is comparatively careless of the tiring-room of antiquity,—indifferent, like his age, to the niceties of archæological costume. Humanity is to him, wherever found, of all time, and equally at home to him in all its fashions; and though he never deals with abstractions, like Spenser, seldom idealizes like him, his realism rests on a broader basis than local manners, personal eccentricities, or historical minuteness. Whilst his Greeks, his Romans, his Italians, his ancient Britons, are true to their race, their country, and their times, and could not or be transposed, as in other dramatists, without utter confusion to the whole meaning and conception of the poet, they are intelligible to us, because the poet makes us feel that, however remote they may be, they are of our own flesh and blood; of like passions, temptations, strength, and weakness. It may be said of his genius what Hamlet says of the ubiquity of his father's ghost, *hic et ubique*; the *ubique* is never disjoined from the *hic*; however wide the rays of his poetical fiction travel,



travel, they all converge in one point. Shakspeare is above all other men the Englishman of the 16th century.

Moreover, dramatic poetry, especially dramatic poetry of the Shakspearian drama, is the poetry of Englishmen: first, because it is the poetry of action and passion, woven out of the wear and tear of this busy world, rather than the poetry of reflection; and, secondly, because it is peculiar to Englishmen not merely to tolerate all sides and all parties, but to let all sides and parties speak for themselves; and to like to hear them. It is part of the national love for fair play, part of its intense curiosity and thirst for seeing things and men from all points of view and in all aspects, of preferring to look at things as they are, even in their nakedness and weakness, to any theories, or notions, or systems about them. Not only is the drama most pregnant with this variety, but no drama is ever successful that neglects it. The fair play in Shakspeare is scarcely less remarkable than the infinite range of his characters. There is no absolute villainy—no absolute heroism. He takes no sides; he never raises up successful evil merely for the pleasure of knocking it down, and gaining cheap applause by commonplace declamations against it. He pronounces no judgment; in most instances he commits his characters wholly to the judgment of the spectator. This judicial impartiality is another characteristic of the nation, that hates dogmatism in all shapes, in juries or in judges, in the pulpit or the senate.

In this respect Shakspeare, like Bacon, was guiding the top-most bent of the nation, and in one other especially:—

‘There is no art,’ says Sir Philip Sidney,\* ‘delivered unto mankind, that hath not the works of nature for his (its) principal object, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend, as they become actors and players, as it were, of what nature will have set forth. . . . Only the poet disdaining to be tied to any subjection, lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect into another nature; in making things either better than nature bringeth forth or quite anew; forms such as never were in nature, as the Heroes, Demi-gods, Cyclops, Chimeras, Furies, and such like; so as he goeth *hand in hand with nature*, not inclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the work in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with so pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet smelling flowers, and whatsoever else may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen, the poet’s only silver and golden.’

Then he proceeds to say, in language no less solemn, true, and

\* ‘Defence of Poesy.’ Sidney died in 1586.

beautiful, that, as the skill of every artificer is manifested in his *idea*,\* 'or præconceit of the work and not in the work itself,' so the greatest of all idealists is the poet and the poet only. Now as this grand claim, by no mean poet, for the heroical and transcendental in poetry, constitutes the ablest defence of such writers as Spenser, and the best apology for the popular approbation of the stilted drama of Marlowe and Kyd, it is also the best exponent of the feelings of men like Sidney; men of all others who loved, and fought, and died for Gloriana, and carried the nobility, generosity, chivalry of the old Romance into the commonest events of hodiernal life. But when Sidney fell at Zutphen, the last if not the brightest star in this galaxy of men fell with him—the old age of Elizabeth was pestered with the intrigues and selfish plots of noblemen and gentlemen; the round table of Arthur was no more; 'the goodliest fellowship of famous knights' was all unsoldered. There was no one to exhibit in his own person the examples of that type so dear to Sidney and his contemporaries. Besides, the nation was settling down to the 17th century, and to those sterner questions which nothing but the grimmost realism could hope to understand and determine. The high but artificial standing of the earlier age could not hold out against the shock: would not, even if it had not degenerated with the Stuarts. Thus Shakspeare in his unheroism and in his realism was exhibiting to his contemporaries the growing tendency of his own age. The inflexible, almost cruel, impartiality with which he holds up to them the good and the evil, the weakness and the strength, of all men and all classes alike, the sure vengeance which overtakes misdirected but good intentions, equally as it overtakes crime, the Nemesis of extravagant affections, emotions, actions, passions, thoughts, expressions;—the assertion of a law and order in all things, as inexorable as the Fate of the Greek dramatist—which none can break and escape punishment—the world as God made it and not as men's passions, partiality, righteousness or unrighteousness would have it—the sun and the rain for the unjust as well as the just—innocence foiled as well as guilt at the moment of its triumph—mirth turned into sorrow—laughter in the midst of tears—light chequered with darkness everywhere—wisdom defeated by folly—manhood corrupted by youthful dissipation—the comic hand in hand with the tragic;—the drunken porter and the murdered king—the convulsive fool

\* So that charming pastoral—

'Come, live with me and be my love,'

with its transcendental images of 'coral clasp and amber studs,' describes what no one has ever realised in nature, but it has its existence as certain in the amorous imagination of the poet as the object to which it was addressed.

and the heart-broken father—earth gibbering whilst heaven is rent with ‘sulphurous and thought-executing fires’—fools and wits, innocent and guilty, high and low, kings and pickpockets, the proud and the mean, the noble and ignoble—this is the warp and woof—the tangled web of good and evil composing what men call the world, and set forth by Shakspeare to his contemporaries. With so broad and varied a theme as this—so terrible, pathetic, ridiculous, vulgar, and sublime, the heroic of Sidney is incompatible. Rather it shrinks into nothing on the comparison; and the life of the imaginary is less full of wonders than of the ordinary hero of every day.

One more characteristic has to be noticed which stamps Shakspeare especially as an Englishman, and an Englishman of the reign of Elizabeth: and this is the prominence given by him to his female characters, their variety, and the important part assigned to them in his dramas. It has been said that, if Shakspeare paints no heroes, the women are heroines. If in Spenser the knights fail to accomplish those enterprises which are accomplished for them by the other sex; if Una and Britomart and Belphœbe are the guides and the advisers of their different champions; if male courage is unsexed except it be regulated by purest devotion to women; in Shakspeare, Imogen, Hermione, and Desdemona stand forth in shining contrast to their faithless, wavering, and suspicious consorts. But in Spenser woman is little else than ideal; she is too good for human nature’s daily food and daily infirmities. Shakspeare’s women are strictly real; their very infirmities, like the tears of Achilles, are not a foil, but an ornament to their perfections; their failings spring from the root of their virtues. The criticism which condemns Desdemona and Juliet is as monstrous as it is mistaken. The women in Shakspeare suffer as they suffer in the world and in real life, because, in following the true instincts of true nature, they fall sacrifices to the experience, the selfishness, the caprices of the stronger sex. If parents are careless and imperious like Brabantio, or impure and worldly like old Capulet and Polonius, Shakspeare saw too well that such muddy cisterns, hide their corruptions as they will, cannot prevent the subtle contagion of their own ill-doings from staining the pure fountains of their household. Youth pierces through their flimsy disguisings with a sharp and divine instinct wholly hidden from *their* purblind vision. With the exception of Lady Macbeth, there is no female character in Shakspeare which comes near the atrocities of Iago or Richard III. The fierce natural affection of the injured Constance excuses her occasional excesses; the weakness of Anne, like the palpitating bird, is not proof against the basilisk-like power

power and fascination of Richard III. ; Miranda falls in love at first sight with a being she has dressed up in her own perfections ; even Lady Macbeth has steeled her nature above that of her sex in admiration and devotion to her husband. Look out upon the world, and the same is going on every day : woman complying with the law of her creation, and man transgressing his.

And as Shakspeare differs from previous dramatists in his conception and representation of the real, not the colourless ideal, of woman, he equally differs from Ben Jonson, from Beaumont and Fletcher, with their mere animal instincts and their coarser delineation of the purpose and destiny of woman. Nor is it merely in the purity, refinement, and feminine grace of his female characters that the great dramatist so far surpasses his contemporaries ; for ‘The Virgin Martyr’ of Massinger, and ‘The Faithful Shepherdess’ of Fletcher, though rare and unusual, have something of the same excellence ; but the woman’s nature and instincts are never lost sight of by the poet. If faith, love, constancy, purity, are beautiful even in the abstract, they are more beautiful still in the concrete ; and the hardness of the abstract is rounded off when they are presented to us not as fixed and isolated qualities or all-absorbing influences, but in the tenderness, weakness, and alternations of flesh and blood. The heroism of strength may delight the hero-worshipper ; but the heroism of weakness is far more human and attractive. The faint resolve, springing forth as a tiny blade from unpromising ground—now seemingly contending unequally against the blast—now gaining unseen strength and vigour from the contest :—the moral purpose exposed to the storm of passion and the inveiglement of temptation ; like a frail craft at sea—now hidden by the waves—now apparently foundering hopelessly—then rising to the storm—creating in the spectator the contending tumults of pity, hope, and fear—appealing to the strongest and inexhaustible sympathies in the hearts of men—these are the triumphs of the dramatic poet. And it is in this exhibition of mortal strength and weakness, whether in man or woman, that Shakspeare excels, even in his less complex characters ; whilst in the impersonation of a character of more complex elements, such as Cleopatra, any comparison of the great master with any writer of fiction, in ancient or in modern times, would be altogether absurd. What must that imagination have been that could conceive, or that power which could so perfectly delineate, three such types of woman-kind as Juliet, Desdemona, and Cleopatra ? Whose but his, who, without losing his own personality, seeing with other men’s eyes, and feeling with other men’s feelings, understood the universal

versal heart of man, and has become the tongue and voice of universal humanity?

But we must forbear. If there be one omission in the great dramatist, if we have one cause of complaint against him, it is his almost rigid, his Baconian, resolution not to look beyond the region of human experience: for to this remark we cannot consider his fairies, witches, and ghosts, his Ariel or his Caliban, as forming any exception. In his days, at all events, popular faith in these ultra-human creations accepted them as beings of this world. But, when we compare Shakspeare with Spenser; when we consider how brief is the interval separating him from Luther, how deeply and how recently the religious heart of England had been stirred; how all her noblest sons had associated trust in God with loyalty to their nation and their sovereign; we wonder why the poet should never have exhibited the influences of religious faith and resignation, or so cursorily or so coldly as scarcely to deserve the name. Men and women are made to drain the cup of misery to the dregs; but as from the depths into which they have fallen by their own weakness or the wickedness of others, the poet never raises them, in violation of the inexorable laws of nature, so neither does he 'put a new song' into their mouths, or any expression of confidence in God's righteous dealing. With as precise and hard a hand as Lord Bacon did he sunder the celestial from the terrestrial globe, the things of earth from those of heaven; resolutely and sternly refusing to look beyond the limits of this world, to borrow comfort in suffering and injustice from the life to come. Such expressions of faith might be out of place in 'Macbeth,' or 'Cordelia,' or 'Lear;' but we should have expected them in Richard II. and his queen, in Desdemona, and still more in Hamlet, who had been a student at Wittenberg. Yet Hamlet, who had pondered more than most men on the great questions of life and the destiny of man, when unexpectedly overtaken by death, has nothing more to say than those ominous words: 'The rest is silence!' Even the vindication of God's order and judgment, of which he is made the instrument, leaves him as darkling as it finds him. Must we then think that the godly spirit and faith of Luther had departed? that Protestantism had failed as well as Romanism? or that Shakspeare, in thus ignoring the great central truth, like Bacon, was, like Bacon, unconsciously exhibiting the Calvinistic tendency, the downward and disorganizing progress of his age, by substituting man for God as the great centre of this universe, as the sole and engrossing subject of human interest?

ART. II.—*The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex.*

By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. London, 1871.

IN Mr. Darwin's last work we possess at length a complete and thorough exposition of his matured views. He gives us the results of the patient labour of many years' unremitting investigation and of the application of a powerful and acute intellect, combined with an extraordinarily active imagination, to an unequalled collection of most varied, interesting and important biological data. In his earlier writings a certain reticence veiled, though it did not hide, his ultimate conclusions as to the origin of our own species; but now all possibility of misunderstanding or of a repetition of former disclaimers on the part of any disciple is at an end, and the entire and naked truth as to the logical consequences of Darwinism is displayed with a frankness which we had a right to expect from the distinguished author. What was but obscurely hinted in the 'Origin of Species' is here fully and fairly stated in all its bearings and without disguise. Mr. Darwin has, in fact, 'crowned the edifice,' and the long looked for and anxiously awaited detailed statement of his views as to the human race is now unreservedly put before us.

We rise from the careful perusal of this book with mingled feelings of admiration and disappointment. The author's style is clear and attractive—clearer than in his earlier works—and his desire to avoid every kind of conscious misrepresentation is as conspicuous as ever. The number of interesting facts brought forward is as surprising as is the ingenuity often displayed in his manipulation of them. Under these circumstances it is a most painful task to have to point out grave defects and serious shortcomings. Mr. Darwin, however, seems in his recent work even more than in his earlier productions to challenge criticism, and to have thrown out ideas and suggestions with a distinct view to their subsequent modification by others. It is but an act of fairness to call attention to this:—

'False facts,' says Mr. Darwin, 'are highly injurious to the progress of science, for they often long endure; but false views, if supported by some evidence, do little harm, as every one takes a salutary pleasure in proving their falseness; and when this is done, one path towards error is closed and the road to truth is often at the same time opened.'—*Descent of Man*, vol. ii. p. 30.

Although we are unable to agree entirely with Mr. Darwin in this remark, it none the less contains an undoubted truth. We cannot

cannot agree, because we feel that a false theory which keenly solicits the imagination, put forward by a writer widely and deservedly esteemed, and which reposes on a multitude of facts difficult to verify, skilfully interwoven, and exceedingly hard to unravel, is likely to be very prejudicial to science. Nevertheless, science cannot make progress without the action of two distinct classes of thinkers: the first consisting of men of creative genius, who strike out brilliant hypotheses, and who may be spoken of as 'theorizers' in the good sense of the word; the second, of men possessed of the critical faculty, and who test, mould into shape, perfect or destroy, the hypotheses thrown out by the former class.

Obviously important as it is that there should be such theorizers, it is also most important that criticism should clearly point out when a theory is really proved, when it is but probable, and when it is a mere arbitrary hypothesis. 'This is all the more necessary if, as may often and very easily happen, from being repeatedly spoken of, and being connected with celebrated and influential names, it is likely to be taken for very much more than it is really worth.

The necessity of caution in respect to this is clearly shown by Mr. Darwin's present work, in which 'sexual selection,' from being again and again referred to as if it had been proved to be a *vera causa*, may readily be accepted as such by the uninstructed or careless reader. For many persons, at first violently opposed through ignorance or prejudice to Mr. Darwin's views, are now, with scarcely less ignorance and prejudice, as strongly inclined in their favour.

Mr. Darwin's recent work, supplementing and completing, as it does, his earlier publications, offers a good opportunity for reviewing his whole position. We shall thus be better able to estimate the value of his convictions regarding the special subject of his present inquiry. We shall first call attention to his earlier statements, in order that we may see whether he has modified his views, and, if so, how far and with what results. If he has, even by his own showing and admission, been over-hasty and seriously mistaken previously, we must be the more careful how we commit ourselves to his guidance now. We shall endeavour to show that Mr. Darwin's convictions have undergone grave modifications, and that the opinions adopted by him now are quite distinct from, and even subversive of, the views he originally put forth. The assignment of the law of 'natural selection' to a subordinate position is virtually an abandonment of the Darwinian theory; for the one distinguishing feature of that theory was the all-sufficiency of 'natural selection.' Not  
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the less, however, ought we to feel grateful to Mr. Darwin for bringing forward that theory, and for forcing on men's minds, by his learning, acuteness, zeal, perseverance, firmness, and candour, a recognition of the probability, if not more, of evolution and of the certainty of the action of 'natural selection.' For though the 'survival of the fittest' is a truth which readily presents itself to any one who considers the subject, and though its converse, the destruction of the least fit, was recognised thousands of years ago, yet to Mr. Darwin, and (through Mr. Wallace's reticence) to Mr. Darwin alone, is due the credit of having first brought it prominently forward and demonstrated its truth in a volume which will doubtless form a landmark in the domain of zoological science.

We find even in the third edition of his '*Origin of Species*' the following passages:—'Natural selection can act only by taking advantage of slight successive variations; she can never take a leap, but must advance by short and slow steps' (p. 214). Again he says:—'If it could be demonstrated that any complex organ existed, which could not possibly have been formed by numerous, successive, slight modifications, my theory would absolutely break down. But I can find out no such case' (p. 208). He adds:—

'Every detail of structure in every living creature (making some little allowance for the direct action of physical conditions) may be viewed, either as having been of special use to some ancestral form, or as being now of special use to the descendants of this form—either directly, or indirectly through the complex laws of growth;' and 'if it could be proved that any part of the structure of any one species had been formed for the exclusive good of another species, it would annihilate my theory, for such could not have been produced through natural selection' (p. 220).

It is almost impossible for Mr. Darwin to have used words by which more thoroughly to stake the whole of his theory on the non-existence or non-action of causes of any moment other than natural selection. For why should such a phenomenon 'annihilate his theory'? Because the very essence of his theory, as originally stated, is to recognise only the conservation of minute variations directly beneficial to the creature presenting them, by enabling it to obtain food, escape enemies, and propagate its kind. But once more he says:—

'We have seen that species at any one period are not indefinitely variable, and are not linked together by a multitude of intermediate gradations, partly because the process of natural selection will always be very slow, and will act, at any one time, only on a very few forms; and partly because the very process of natural selection almost



implies the continual supplanting and extinction of preceding and intermediate gradations.'—P. 223.

Such are Mr. Darwin's earlier statements. At present we read as follows :—

'I now admit, after reading the essay by Nägeli on plants, and the remarks by various authors with respect to animals, more especially those recently made by Professor Broca, that in the earlier editions of my "*Origin of Species*" I probably attributed too much to the action of natural selection or the survival of the fittest.' . . . 'I had not formerly sufficiently considered the existence of many structures which appear to be, as far as we can judge, neither beneficial nor injurious; and this I believe to be one of the greatest oversights as yet detected in my work.'—('Descent of Man,' vol. i. p. 152.)

A still more remarkable admission is that in which he says, after referring to the action of both natural and sexual selection :—

'An unexplained residuum of change, perhaps a large one, must be left to the assumed action of those *unknown agencies*, which occasionally induce strongly marked and abrupt deviations of structure in our domestic productions.'—vol. i. p. 154.

But perhaps the most glaring contradiction is presented by the following passage :—

'No doubt man, as well as every other animal, presents structures, which as far as we can judge with our little knowledge, are not now of any service to him, nor have been so during any former period of his existence, either in relation to his general conditions of life, or of one sex to the other. Such structures cannot be accounted for by any form of selection, or by the inherited effects of the use and disuse of parts. We know, however, that many strange and strongly marked peculiarities of structure occasionally appear in our domesticated productions; and if the unknown causes which produce them were to act more uniformly, they would probably become common to all the individuals of the species.'—vol. ii. p. 387.

Mr. Darwin, indeed, seems now to admit the existence of internal, innate powers, for he goes on to say :—

'We may hope hereafter to understand something about the causes of such occasional modifications, especially through the study of monstrosities.' . . . 'In the greater number of cases we can only say that the cause of each slight variation and of each monstrosity lies much more in the nature or constitution of the organism\* than in the nature of the surrounding conditions; though new and changed conditions certainly play an important part in exciting organic changes of all kinds.'

\* The italics in the quotations from Mr. Darwin's book in this article are, in almost all cases, our's, and not the author's.

Also, in a note (vol. i. p. 223), he speaks of 'incidental results of certain unknown differences in the constitution of the reproductive system.'

Thus, then, it is admitted by our author that we may have 'abrupt, strongly marked' changes, 'neither beneficial nor injurious' to the creatures possessing them, produced 'by unknown agencies' lying deep in 'the nature or constitution of the organism,' and which, if acting uniformly, would 'probably' modify similarly 'all the individuals of a species.' If this is not an abandonment of 'natural selection,' it would be difficult to select terms more calculated to express it. But Mr. Darwin's admissions of error do not stop here. In the fifth edition of his 'Origin of Species' (p. 104) he says, 'Until reading an able and valuable article in the "North British Review" (1867), I did not appreciate how rarely single variations, whether slight or strongly marked, could be perpetuated.' Again: he was formerly 'inclined to lay much stress on the principle of protection, as accounting for the less bright colours of female birds' ('Descent of Man,' vol. ii. p. 198); but now he speaks as if the correctness of his old conception of such colours being due to protection was unlikely. 'Is it probable,' he asks, 'that the head of the female chaffinch, the crimson on the breast of the female bullfinch, —the green of the female chaffinch,—the crest of the female golden-crested wren, have all been rendered less bright by the slow process of selection for the sake of protection? *I cannot think so*' (vol. ii. p. 176.)

Once more Mr. Darwin shows us (vol. i. p. 125) how he has been over-hasty in attributing the development of certain structures to reversion. He remarks, 'In my "Variations of Animals under Domestication" (vol. ii. p. 57) I attributed the not very rare cases of supernumerary mammae in women to reversion.' 'But Professor Preyer states that *mammæ erraticæ* have been known to occur in other situations, even on the back; so that the force of my argument is greatly weakened or perhaps quite destroyed.'

Finally, we have a postscript at the beginning of the second volume of the 'Descent of Man' which contains an avowal more remarkable than even the passages already cited. He therein declares:—

'I have fallen into a serious and unfortunate error, in relation to the sexual differences of animals, in attempting to explain what seemed to me a singular coincidence in the late period of life at which the necessary variations have arisen in many cases, and the late period at which sexual selection acts. The explanation given is wholly

erroneous, as I have discovered by working out an illustration in figures.'

While willingly paying a just tribute of esteem to the candour which dictated these several admissions, it would be idle to dissemble, and disingenuous not to declare, the amount of distrust with which such repeated over-hasty conclusions and erroneous calculations inspire us. When their Author comes before us anew, as he now does, with opinions and conclusions still more startling, and calculated in a yet greater degree to disturb convictions reposing upon the general consent of the majority of cultivated minds, we may well pause before we trust ourselves unreservedly to a guidance which thus again and again declares its own reiterated fallibility. Mr. Darwin's conclusions may be correct, but we feel we have now indeed a right to demand that they shall be proved before we assent to them; and that since what Mr. Darwin before declared '*must be*,' he now admits not only to be unnecessary but untrue, we may justly regard with extreme distrust the numerous statements and calculations which, in the '*Descent of Man*,' are avowedly recommended by a mere '*may be*.' This is the more necessary, as the Author, starting at first with an avowed hypothesis, constantly asserts it as an undoubted fact, and claims for it, somewhat in the spirit of a theologian, that it should be received as an article of faith. Thus the formidable objection to Mr. Darwin's theory, that the great break in the organic chain between man and his nearest allies, which cannot be bridged over by any extinct or living species, is answered simply by an appeal 'to a *belief* in the general principle of evolution' (vol. i. p. 200), or by a confident statement that 'we have *every reason to believe* that breaks in the series are simply the result of many forms having become extinct' (vol. i. p. 187). So, in like manner, we are assured that 'the early progenitors of man were, *no doubt*, once covered with hair, both sexes having beards; their ears were pointed and capable of movement; and their bodies were provided with a tail, having the proper muscles' (vol. i. p. 206). And, finally, we are told, with a dogmatism little worthy of a philosopher, that, '*unless we wilfully close our eyes*,' we must recognise our parentage (vol. i. p. 213).

These are hard words; and, even at the risk of being accused of wilful blindness, we shall now proceed, with an unbiassed and unprejudiced mind, to examine carefully the arguments upon which Mr. Darwin's theory rests. Must we acknowledge that 'man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to  
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other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system,' must we acknowledge that man 'with all these exalted powers' is descended from an Ascidian? Is this a scientific truth resting on scientific evidence, or is it to be classed with the speculations of a bygone age?

With regard to the Origin of Man, Mr. Darwin considers that both 'natural selection' and 'sexual selection' have acted. We need not on the present occasion discuss the action of natural selection; but it will be necessary to consider that of 'sexual selection' at some length. It plays a very important part in the 'descent of man,' according to Mr. Darwin's views. He maintains that we owe to it our power of song and our hairlessness of body, and that also to it is due the formation and conservation of the various races and varieties of the human species. In this matter then we fear we shall have to make some demand upon our readers' patience. 'Sexual selection' is the corner-stone of Mr. Darwin's theory. It occupies three-fourths of his two volumes; and unless he has clearly established this point, the whole fabric falls to the ground. It is impossible, therefore, to review the book without entering fully into the subject, even at the risk of touching upon some points which, for obvious reasons, we should have preferred to pass over in silence.

Under the head of 'sexual selection' Mr. Darwin includes two very distinct processes. One of these consists in the action of superior strength or activity, by which one male succeeds in obtaining possession of mates and in keeping away rivals. This is, undoubtedly, a *vera causa*; but may be more conveniently reckoned as one kind of 'natural selection' than as a branch of 'sexual selection.' The second process consists in alleged preference or choice, exercised freely by the female in favour of particular males on account of some attractiveness or beauty of form, colour, odour, or voice, which such males may possess. It is this second kind of 'sexual selection' (and which alone deserves the name) that is important for the establishment of Mr. Darwin's views, but its valid action has to be proved.

Now, to prove the existence of such a power of choice Mr. Darwin brings forward a multitude of details respecting the sexual phenomena of animals of various classes; but it is the class of birds which is mainly relied on to afford evidence in support of the exercise of this power of choice by female animals. We contend, however, that not only is the evidence defective even here, but that much of his own evidence is in direct opposition to his views. While the unquestionable fact, that male sexual characters (horns, mane, wattles,

wattles, &c., &c.) have been developed in many cases where sexual selection has certainly not acted, renders it probable, *à priori*, that the unknown cause which has operated in these numerous cases has operated in those instances also which seem to favour the hypothesis supported by Mr. Darwin. Still he contends that the greater part of the beauty and melody of the organic world is due exclusively to this selective process, by which, through countless generations, the tail of the peacock, the throat of the humming-bird, the song of the nightingale, and the chirp of the grasshopper have been developed by females, age after age, selecting for their mates males possessing in a more and more perfect degree characters which must thus have been continually and constantly preferred.

Yet, after all, Mr. Darwin concedes *in principle* the very point in dispute, and yields all for which his opponents need argue, when he allows that beautiful and harmonious variations may occur *spontaneously* and *at once*, as in the dark or spangled bars on the feathers of Hamburg fowls ('Descent of Man,' vol. i. p. 281). For what difference is there, other than mere difference of degree, between the spontaneous appearance of a few beautiful new feathers with harmonious markings and the spontaneous appearance of a whole beautiful clothing like that of the Tragopans?

Again, on Mr. Darwin's own showing, it is manifest that male sexual characters, such as he would fain attribute to sexual selection, may arise without any such action whatever. Thus he tells us, 'There are breeds of the sheep and goat, in which the horns of the male differ greatly in shape from those of the female;' and 'with tortoise-shell cats, the females alone, as a general rule, are thus coloured, the males being rusty-red' (vol. i. p. 283). Now, if these cats were only known in a wild state, Mr. Darwin would certainly bring them forward amongst his other instances of alleged sexual selection, though we now know the phenomenon is not due to any such cause. A more striking instance, however, is the following:—'With the pigeon, the sexes of the parent species do not differ in any external character; nevertheless, in certain domesticated breeds the male is differently coloured from the female. The wattle in the English carrier-pigeon and the crop in the pouter are more highly developed in the male than in the female;' and 'this has arisen, not from, but rather *in opposition to*, the wishes of the breeder;' which amounts to a positive demonstration that sexual characters may arise spontaneously, and, be it noted, in the class of birds.

The uncertainty which besets these speculations of Mr. Darwin is evident at every turn. What at first could be thought a  
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better instance of sexual selection than the light of the glowworm, exhibited to attract her mate? Yet the discovery of luminous larvæ, which of course have no sexual action, leads Mr. Darwin to observe: 'It is very doubtful whether the primary use of the light is to guide the male to the female' (vol. i. p. 345). Again, as to certain British field-bugs, he says: 'If in any species the males had differed from the females in an analogous manner, we *might have been justified* in attributing such conspicuous colours to sexual selection with transference to both sexes' (vol. i. p. 350). As to the stridulating noises of insects (which is assumed to be the result of sexual selection), Mr. Darwin remarks of certain Neuroptera:—'It is rather surprising that both sexes should have the power of stridulating, as the male is winged and the female wingless' (vol. i. p. 366); and he is again surprised to find that this power is not a sexual character in many Coleoptera (vol. i. p. 382).

Moths and butterflies, however, are the insects which Mr. Darwin treats of at the greatest length in support of sexual selection. Yet even here he supplies us with positive evidence that in certain cases beauty does not charm the female. He tells us:—

'Some facts, however, are opposed to the belief that female butterflies prefer the more beautiful males; thus, as I have been assured by several observers, fresh females may frequently be seen paired with battered, faded, or dingy males.'—vol. i. p. 400.

As to the Bombycidae he adds:—

'The females lie in an almost torpid state, and appear not to evince the least choice in regard to their partners. This is the case with the common silk-moth (*B. mori*). Dr. Wallace, who has had such immense experience in breeding *Bombyx cynthia*, is convinced that the females evince no choice or preference. He has kept above 300 of these moths living together, and has often found the most vigorous females mated with stunted males.'

Nevertheless, we do not find, for all this, any defect of colour or markings, for, as Mr. Alfred Wallace observes (*Nature*, March 15th, 1871, p. 182), 'the Bombyces are amongst the most elegantly coloured of all moths.'

Mr. Darwin gives a number of instances of sexual characters, such as horns, spines, &c., in beetles and other insects; but there is no fragment of evidence that such structures are in any way due to feminine caprice. Other structures are described and figured which doubtless do aid the sexual act, as the claws of certain Crustacea; but these are often of such size and strength (*e. g.* in *Callinassa* and *Orchestia*) as to render any power of choice

choice on the part of the female in the highest degree incredible.

Similarly with the higher classes, *i.e.* Fishes, Reptiles, and Beasts, we have descriptions and representations of a number of sexual peculiarities, but no evidence whatever that such characters are due to female selection. Often we have statements which conflict strongly with a belief in any such action. Thus, *e.g.*, Mr. Darwin quotes Mr. R. Buist, Superintendent of Fisheries, as saying that male salmon

'Are constantly fighting and tearing each other on the spawning-beds, and many so injure each other as to cause the death of numbers, many being seen swimming near the banks of the river in a state of exhaustion, and apparently in a dying state.' . . . 'The keeper of Stormontfield found in the northern Tyne about 300 dead salmon, all of which with one exception were males; and he was convinced that they had lost their lives by fighting.'—vol. ii. p. 3.

The female's choice must here be much limited, and the only kind of sexual selection which can operate is that first kind, determined by combat, which, we before observed, must rather be ranked as a kind of 'natural selection.' Even with regard to this, however, we may well hesitate, when Mr. Darwin tells us, as he does, that seeing the habitual contests of the males, 'it is surprising that they have not generally become, through the effects of sexual selection, larger and stronger than the females;' and this the more as 'the males suffer from their small size,' being 'liable to be devoured by the females of their own species' (vol. ii. p. 7). The cases cited by our Author with regard to fishes, do not even tend to prove the existence of sexual selection, and the same may be said as to the numerous details given by him about Reptiles and Amphibians. Nay, rather the facts are hostile to his views. Thus, he says himself, 'It is surprising that frogs and toads should not have acquired more strongly-marked sexual differences; for though cold-blooded, their passions are strong' (vol. ii. p. 26). But he cites a fact, than which it would be difficult to find one less favourable to his cause. He adds: 'Dr. Günther informs me that he has several times found an unfortunate female toad dead and smothered from having been so closely embraced by three or four males.' If female selection was difficult in the case of the female salmon, it must be admitted to have been singularly infelicitous to the female toad.

We will now notice some facts brought forward by Mr. Darwin with regard to beasts. And first, as to the existence of choice on the part of the females, it may be noted that 'Mr. Bienkiron, the greatest breeder of race-horses in the world, says that

that stallions are so frequently capricious in their choice, rejecting one mare and without any apparent cause taking to another, that various artifices have to be habitually used.' 'He has *never known a mare to reject a horse*;' though this has occurred in Mr. Wright's stable.

Some of the most marked sexual characters found amongst mammals, are those which exist in apes. These are abundantly noticed by Mr. Darwin, but his treatment of them seems to show his inability to bring them within the scope of his theory.

It is well known that certain apes are distinguished by the lively colours or peculiarities as to hair possessed by the males, while it is also notorious that their vastly superior strength of body and length of fang, would render resistance on the part of the female difficult and perilous, even were we to adopt the utterly gratuitous supposition, that at seasons of sexual excitement the female shows any disposition to coyness. Mr. Darwin has no facts to bring forward to prove the exercise of any choice on the part of female apes, but gives in support of his views the following remarkable passage:—

'Must we attribute to mere purposeless variability in the male all these appendages of hair and skin? It cannot be denied that this is possible; for, with many domesticated quadrupeds, certain characters, apparently not derived through reversion from any wild parent-form, have appeared in, and are confined to, the males, or are more largely developed in them than in the females,—for instance, the hump in the male zebu-cattle of India, the tail in fat-tailed rams, the arched outline of the forehead in the males of several breeds of sheep, the mane in the ram of an African breed, and, lastly, the mane, long hairs on the hinder legs, and the dewlap in the male alone of the Barbura goat.'—vol. ii. p. 284.

If these are due, as is probable, to simple variability, then, he adds,—

'It would appear reasonable to extend the same view to the many analogous characters occurring in animals under a state of nature. Nevertheless I cannot persuade myself that this view is applicable in many cases, as in that of the extraordinary development of hair on the throat and fore-legs of the male *Ammotragus*, or of the immense beard of the *Pithecia* (monkey).—vol. ii. p. 285.

But one naturally asks, Why not? Mr. Darwin gives no reason (if such it may be called) beyond that implied in the gratuitous use of the epithet 'purposeless' in the passage cited, and to which we shall return.

In the Rhesus monkey the female appears to be more vividly coloured than the male; therefore Mr. Darwin infers (grounding his



his inference on alleged phenomena in birds) that sexual selection is *reversed*, and that in this case the male selects. This hypothetical reversion of a hypothetical process to meet an exceptional case will appear to many rash indeed, when they reflect that as to teeth, whiskers, general size, and superciliary ridges this monkey 'follows the common rule of the male excelling the female' (vol. ii. p. 294).

To turn now to the class on which Mr. Darwin especially relies, we shall find that even Birds supply us with numerous instances which conflict with his hypothesis. Thus, speaking of the battling of male waders, our author tells us:—'Two were seen to be thus engaged for half an hour, until one got hold of the head of the other, which would have been killed had not the observer interfered; the female all the time looking on as a quiet spectator' (vol. ii. p. 41). As these battles must take place generally in the absence of spectators, their doubtless frequently fatal termination must limit greatly the power of selection Mr. Darwin attributes to the females. The same limit is certainly imposed in the majority of Gallinaceous birds, the cocks of which fight violently; and there can be little doubt but that, as an almost invariable rule, the victorious birds mate with the comparatively passive hens.

Again, how can we explain, on Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, the existence of distinguishing male sexual marks, where it is the male and not the female bird which selects? Yet the wild turkey-cock, a distinguished bird enough, is said by Mr. Darwin (vol. ii. p. 207) to be courted by the females; and he quotes (vol. ii. p. 120) Sir R. Heron as saying, 'that with peafowl, the first advances are always made by the female.' And of the capercaillie he says, 'the females flit round the male while he is parading, and solicit his attention.'

But though, of course, the sexual instinct always seeks its gratification, does the female *ever* select a particular plumage? The strongest instance given by Mr. Darwin is as follows:—

'Sir R. Heron during many years kept an account of the habits of the pafowl, which he bred in large numbers. He states that the hens have frequently great preference for a particular peacock. They were all so fond of an old pied cock, that one year, when he was confined though still in view, they were constantly assembled close to the trellice-walls of his prison, and would not suffer a japanned peacock to touch them. On his being let out in the autumn, the oldest of the hens instantly courted him, and was successful in her courtship. The next year he was shut up in a stable, and then the hens all courted his rival. This rival was a japanned or black-winged peacock, which to our eyes is a more beautiful bird than the common kind.'—vol. ii. p. 119.

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Now no one disputes as to birds showing preferences one for another, but it is quite a gratuitous suggestion that the pied plumage of the venerable paterfamilias was *the* charm which attracted the opposite sex; and even if such were the case, it would seem (from Mr. Darwin's concluding remark) to prove either that the peahen's taste is so different from ours, that the peacock's plumage could never have been developed by it, or (if the taste of these peahens was different from that of most peahens) that such is the instability of a vicious feminine caprice, that no constancy of coloration could be produced by its selective action.

Mr. Darwin bases his theory of sexual selection greatly on the fact that the male birds display the beauty of their plumage with elaborate parade and many curious and uncouth gestures. But this display is not exclusively used in attracting and stimulating the hens. Thus he admits that 'the males will sometimes display their ornaments when *not* in the presence of the females, as occasionally occurs with the grouse at their balz-places, and as may be noticed with the peacock; this latter bird, however, evidently wishes for a spectator *of some kind*, and will show off his finery, as I have often seen, before poultry or even pigs' (vol. ii. p. 86). Again, as to the brilliant *Rupicola crocea*, Sir R. Schomburgk says: 'A *male* was capering to the apparent delight of several *others*' (vol. ii. p. 87).

From the fact of 'display' Mr. Darwin concludes that 'it is obviously probable that the females appreciate the beauty of their suitors' (vol. ii. p. 111). Our Author, however, only ventures to call it 'probable,' and he significantly adds: 'It is, however, difficult to obtain direct evidence of their capacity to appreciate beauty.' And again he says of the hen bird: 'It is not probable that she consciously deliberates; but she is most excited or attracted by the most beautiful, or melodious, or gallant males' (vol. ii. p. 123). No doubt the plumage, song, &c., all play their parts in aiding the various processes of life; but to stimulate the sexual instinct, even supposing this to be the object, is one thing—to supply the occasion for the exercise of a power of choice is quite another. Certainly we cannot admit what Mr. Darwin affirms (vol. ii. p. 124), that an 'even occasional preference by the female of the more attractive males would almost certainly lead to their modification.'

A singular instance is given by Mr. Darwin (vol. ii. p. 111) in support of his view, on the authority of Mr. J. Weir. It is that of a bullfinch which constantly attacked a reed-bunting, newly put into the aviary; and this attack is attributed to a sort of jealousy on the part of the blackheaded bullfinch of the black head

head of the bunting. But the bullfinch could hardly be aware of the colour of the top of its own head!

Mr. Wallace accounts for the brilliant colours of caterpillars and many birds in another way. The caterpillars which are distasteful must have gained if 'some outward sign indicated to their would-be destroyer that its prey was a disgusting morsel.' As to birds, he believes that brilliance of plumage is developed where not hurtful, and that the generally more sober plumage of the hens has been produced by natural selection, killing off the more brilliant ones exposed during incubation to trying conditions.

Now as Mr. Wallace disposes of Mr. Darwin's views by his objections, so Mr. Darwin's remarks tend to refute Mr. Wallace's positions, and the result seems\*to point to the existence of some unknown innate and internal law which determines at the same time both coloration and its transmission to either or to both sexes. At the same time these authors, indeed, show the *harmony* of natural laws and processes one with another, and their mutual interaction and aid.

It cannot be pretended that there is any evidence for sexual selection except in the class of Birds. Certain of the phenomena which Mr. Darwin generally attributes to such selection must be due, in some other classes, to other causes, and there is no *proof* that sexual selection acts, *even* amongst birds.

But in other classes, as we have seen, sexual characters are as marked as they are in the feathered group. Mr. Darwin, indeed, argues that birds select, and assumes that their sexual characters have been produced by such sexual selection, and that, therefore, the sexual characters of beasts have been similarly evolved. But we may turn the argument round and say that sexual characters not less strongly marked exist in many beasts, reptiles, and insects, which characters cannot be due to sexual selection; that it is, therefore, probable the sexual characters of birds are not due to sexual selection either, but that some unknown internal cause has equally operated in each case. The matter, indeed, stands thus: Of animals possessing sexual characters there are some in which sexual selection cannot have acted; others in which it may possibly have acted; others again in which, according to Mr. Darwin, it has certainly acted. It is a somewhat singular conclusion to deduce from this that sexual selection is the one universal cause of sexual characters, when similar effects to those which it is supposed to cause take place in its absence.

But, indeed, what are the data on which Mr. Darwin relies as regards birds? As before said, they are 'display' by the  
males,

males, the 'greater brilliancy and ornamentation of these,' and the 'occasional preference' by females in confinement for particular males. Is there here any sufficient foundation for such a superstructure? In the first place, in insects, *e.g.* butterflies, we have often many brilliant males crowding in pursuit of a single female. Yet, as Mr. Wallace justly observes, 'Surely the male who finally obtains the female will be either the most vigorous, or the strongest-winged, or the most patient—the one who tires out or beats off the rest.' Similarly in birds strength and perseverance will, no doubt, generally reward the suitor possessing those qualities. Doubtless, also, this will generally be the most beautiful or most melodious; but this will simply be because extra beauty of plumage, or of song, will accompany supereminent vigour of constitution and fulness of vitality. What has been before said as to the fierce combats of cock-birds must be borne in mind.

But that internal spontaneous powers *are* sufficient to produce all the most varied or bizarre sexual characters which any birds exhibit, is actually demonstrated by the class of insects, especially caterpillars which from their sexless undeveloped state can have nothing to do with the kind of selection Mr. Darwin advocates. Yet amongst caterpillars we not only find some ornamented with spots, bands, stripes, and curious patterns, 'perfectly definite in character and of the most brilliantly contrasted hues. We have also many ornamental appendages; beautiful fleshy tubercles or tentacles, hard spines, beautifully coloured hairs arranged in tufts, brushes, starry clusters, or long pencils, and horns on the head and tail, either single or double, pointed or clubbed.' Mr. Wallace adds, 'Now if all these beautiful and varied ornaments can be produced and rendered constant in each species by some unknown cause quite independent of sexual selection, why cannot the same cause produce the colours and many of the ornaments of perfect insects;'—we may also add, the colours and ornaments of all other animals, including birds?

There is, however, another reason which induces Mr. Darwin to accept sexual selection; and it is probably this which, in his mind, mainly gives importance to the facts mentioned as to the plumage and motions of birds. He says of 'display,' 'It is incredible that all this display should be purposeless' (vol. ii. p. 399); and again (vol. ii. p. 93), he declares that any one who denies that the female Argus pheasant can appreciate the refined beauty of the plumage of her mate, 'will be compelled to admit that the extraordinary attitudes assumed by the male during the act of courtship, by which the wonderful beauty of his plumage

is fully displayed, are purposeless; and this is a conclusion which I for one will never admit.' It seems then that it is this imaginary necessity of attributing purposelessness to acts, which determines Mr. Darwin to attribute that peculiar and special purpose to birds' actions which he does attribute to them. But surely this difficulty is a mere chimæra. Let it be granted that the female does not select; yet the display of the male may be useful in supplying the necessary degree of stimulation to her nervous system, and to that of the male. Pleasurable sensation, perhaps very keen in intensity, may thence result to both. There would be no difficulty in suggesting yet other purposes if we were to ascend into higher speculative regions. Mr. Darwin has given us in one place a very remarkable passage; he says:—

'With respect to female birds feeling a preference for particular males, we must bear in mind that we can judge of choice being exerted, only by placing ourselves in imagination in the same position. If an inhabitant of another planet were to behold a number of young rustics at a fair, courting and quarrelling over a pretty girl, like birds at one of their places of assemblage, he would be able to infer that she had the power of choice only by observing the eagerness of the wooers to please her, and to display their finery.'—vol. ii. p. 122.

Now here it must be observed that, as is often the case, Mr. Darwin assumes the very point in dispute, unless he means by 'power of choice' mere freedom of physical power. If he means an internal, mental faculty of choice, then the observer could attribute such power to the girl only if he had reason to attribute to the rustics an intellectual and moral nature similar in kind to that which he possessed himself. Such a similarity of nature Mr. Darwin, of course, does attribute to rational beings and to brutes; but those who do not agree with him in this would require other tests than the presence of ornaments, and the performance of antics and gestures unaccompanied by any evidence of the faculty of articulate speech.

Such, then, is the nature of the evidence on which sexual selection is supposed to rest. To us the action of sexual selection scarcely seems more than a possibility, the evidence rarely raising it to probability. It cannot be a 'sufficient cause' to account for the phenomena which it is intended to explain, nor can it even claim to be taken as a *vera causa* at all. Yet Mr. Darwin again and again speaks as if its reality and cogency were indisputable.

As to the alleged action of natural selection on our own species we may mention two points.

First, as to the absence of hair. This is a character which Mr. Darwin admits cannot be accounted for by 'natural selection,'

tion,' because manifestly not beneficial; it is therefore attributed to 'sexual selection,' incipient man being supposed to have chosen mates with less and less hairy bodies; and the possibility of such action is thought by Mr. Darwin to be supported by the fact that certain monkeys have parts of the body naked. Yet it is a fact that the higher apes have not this nakedness, or have it in a much smaller degree.

Secondly, as to the races of mankind, Mr. Darwin's theory, indeed, requires the alternation of constancy and caprice to account for the selection and the conservation of marked varieties. In order that each race may possess and preserve its own ideal standard of beauty we require the truth of the hypothesis that 'certain tastes may in the course of time become inherited;' and yet Mr. Darwin candidly admits (vol. ii. p. 353): 'I know of no evidence in favour of this belief.' On the other hand, he says (p. 370), 'As soon as tribes exposed to different conditions came to vary, 'each isolated tribe would form for itself a slightly different standard of beauty,' which 'would gradually and inevitably be increased to a greater and greater degree.' But why have not the numerous tribes of North American Indians diverged from each other more conspicuously, inhabiting, as they do, such different climates, and surrounded by such diverse conditions?

Again, far from each race being bound in the trammels of its own features, all cultivated Europeans, whether Celts, Teutons, or Slaves, agree in admiring the Hellenic ideal as the highest type of human beauty.

We may now pass on to the peculiarities of man's bodily frame, and the value and signification of the resemblances presented by it to the various structures which are found to exist in lower members of the animal kingdom.

Mr. Darwin treats us to a very interesting account, not only of man's anatomy, but also of the habits, diseases, and parasites (internal and external) of man, together with the process of his development. He points out (vol. i. p. 11) not only the close similarity even of cerebral structure between man and apes, but also how the same animals are 'liable to many of the same non-contagious diseases as we are; thus Rengger, who carefully observed for a long time the *Cebus Azaræ* in its native land, found it liable to catarrh, with the usual symptoms, and which when often recurrent, led to consumption. These monkeys suffered also from apoplexy, inflammation of the bowels, and catarract in the eye. The younger ones, when shedding their milk-teeth, often died from fever. Medicines produced the same effect on them as on us. Many kinds

kinds of monkeys have a strong taste for tea, coffee, and spirituous liquors; they will also, as I have myself seen, smoke tobacco with pleasure.' He also tells us of baboons which, after taking too much beer, 'on the following morning were very cross and dismal, held their aching heads with both hands, and wore a most pitiable expression: when beer or wine was offered them, they turned away with disgust, but relished the juice of lemons.' He notices, besides, the process of development in man with the transitory resemblances it exhibits to the immature conditions of other animals, and he mentions certain muscular abnormalities.

Mr. Darwin also brings forward an observation of Mr. Woolner, the sculptor, as to a small projection of the helix or outermost fold of the human ear, which projection 'we may safely conclude' to be 'a vestige of formerly pointed ears—which occasionally reappears in man' (vol. i. p. 23). Very many other interesting facts are noted which it would be superfluous here to recapitulate. It is, however, in connexion with man's bodily structure and its resemblances that we have observed slight errors on the part of Mr. Darwin, which it may be as well to point out; though it should be borne in mind that he does not profess to be in any sense an anatomist. Thus, at vol. i. p. 28, he mistakes the supra-condyloid foramen of the humerus for the inter-condyloid perforation. Did the former condition frequently occur in man—as, through this mistake, he asserts—it would be remarkable indeed, as it is only found in the lower monkeys and not in the higher. A more singular mistake is that of the malar bone for the premaxilla (vol. i. p. 121).

To return to the bodily and other characters enumerated at such length by Mr. Darwin. They may, and doubtless they will, produce a considerable effect on readers who are not anatomists, but in fact the whole and sole result is to show that man *is* an animal. That he is such is denied by no one, but has been taught and accepted since the time of Aristotle. We remember on one occasion meeting at a dinner-table a clever medical man of materialistic views. He strongly impressed the minds of some laymen present by an elaborate statement of the mental phenomena following upon different injuries, or diseased conditions of different parts of the brain, until one of the number remarked as a climax, 'Yes; and when the brain is entirely removed the mental phenomena cease altogether'—the previous observations having only brought out vividly what no one denied, viz., that during this life a certain integrity of bodily structure is requisite for the due exercise of the mental powers. Thus Mr. Darwin's remarks are merely an elaborate statement of  
what

what all admit, namely, that man is an animal. They further imply, however, that he is no more than an animal, and that the mode of origin of his visible being must be the mode of his origin as a whole—a conclusion of which we should not question the legitimacy if we could accept Mr. Darwin's views of man's mental powers.

All that can be said to be established by our author is, that if the various kinds of lower animals have been evolved one from the other by a process of natural generation or evolution, then it becomes highly probable *a priori* that man's body has been similarly evolved; but this, in such a case, becomes equally probable from the admitted fact that he is an animal at all.

The evidence for such a process of evolution of man's body amounts, however, only to an *a priori* probability, and might be reconciled with another mode of origin if there were sufficient reason (of another kind) to justify a belief in such other mode of origin. Mr. Darwin says:—'It is only our natural prejudice, and that arrogance which made our forefathers declare that they were descended from demi-gods, which leads us to demur to this conclusion' (vol. i. p. 32). But this is not the case; for many demur to his conclusion because they believe that to accept his view would be to contradict other truths which to them are far more evident.

He also makes the startling assertion that to take any other view than his as to man's origin, 'is to admit that our own structure and that of all the animals around us, is a mere snare laid to entrap our judgment' (vol. i. p. 32). Mr. Darwin is, we are quite sure, far enough from pretending that he has exhausted the possibilities of the case, and yet could anything but a conviction that the whole field had been explored exhaustively, justify such an assertion? If, without such a conviction, it were permissible so to dogmatize, every theorizer who had attained to a plausible explanation of a set of phenomena might equally make use of the assertion, and say, until a better explanation was found, that to doubt him would be to attribute duplicity to the Almighty.

In tracing man's origin Mr. Darwin is again betrayed into slight inaccuracies. Thus, in combating the position, advanced in this 'Review,'\* that the hands of apes had been preformed (with a view to man) in a condition of perfection beyond their needs, he says:—

'On the contrary, I see no reason to doubt that a more perfectly constructed hand would have been an advantage to them, provided, and it is important to note this, that their hands had not thus been

\* See 'Quarterly Review,' April, 1869, p. 392.



rendered less well adapted for climbing trees. We may suspect that a perfect hand would have been disadvantageous for climbing; as the most arboreal monkeys in the world, namely *Ateles* in America and *Hylobates* in Asia, either have their thumbs much reduced in size and even rudimentary, or their fingers partially coherent, so that their hands are converted into grasping-hooks.\*—vol. i. p. 140.

In a note, Mr. Darwin refers to the *Syndactyle Gibbon* as having two of the digits coherent. But these digits are not, as he supposes, digits of the hand but toes. Moreover, though doubtless the Gibbons and spider-monkeys are admirably organized for their needs, yet it is plain that a well-developed thumb is no impediment to climbing, for the strictly arboreal *Leimurs* are exceedingly well furnished in this respect. Again he says (vol. i. p. 143) of the Gibbons, that they, 'without having been taught, can walk or run upright with tolerable quickness, though they move awkwardly, and much less securely than man.' This is a little misleading, inasmuch as it is not stated that this upright progression is effected by placing the enormously long arms behind the head or holding them out backwards as a balance in progression.

We have already seen that Mr. Darwin tries to account for man's hairlessness by the help of 'sexual selection.' He also, however, speculates as to the possibility of his having lost it through heat of climate, saying:—'Elephants and rhinoceroses are almost hairless; and as certain extinct species which formerly lived under an arctic climate were covered with long wool or hair, it would almost appear as if the existing species of both genera had lost their hairy covering from exposure to heat' (vol. i. p. 118).

This affords us a good example of hasty and inconclusive speculation. Surely it would be as rational to suppose that the arctic species had *gained* their coats as that the tropical species had lost theirs. But over-hasty conclusions are, we regret to say, the rule in Mr. Darwin's speculations as to man's genealogy. He carries that genealogy back to some ancient form of animal life somewhat like an existing larval *Ascidian*; and he does this on the strength of the observations of Kowalevsky and Kuppfer. He assumes at once that the similarities of structure which those observers detected are due to descent instead of to independent similarity of evolution, though the latter mode of origin is at least possible,\* and can hardly be considered improbable when we reflect on the close similarity independently induced in the eyes of fishes and cephalopods.

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\* See Professor Rolleston's 'Address at the Liverpool Meeting of the British Association, 1870.'

Quite recently, however, observations have been published by Dr. Donitz,\* which render it necessary, at the least, to pause and reconsider the question before admitting the Ascidian ancestry of the Vertebrate sub-kingdom.

We now come to the consideration of a subject of great importance—namely, that of man's mental powers. Are they, as Mr. Darwin again and again affirms that they are,† different only in degree and not in kind from the mental powers of brutes? As is so often the case in discussions, the error to be combated is an implied negation. Mr. Darwin implies and seems to assume that when two things have certain characters in common there can be no fundamental difference between them.

To avoid ambiguity and obscurity, it may be well here to state plainly certain very elementary matters. The ordinary antecedents and concomitants of distinctly felt sensations may exist, with all their physical consequences, in the total absence of intellectual cognizance, as is shown by the well-known fact, that when through fracture of the spine the lower limbs of a man are utterly deprived of the power of feeling, the foot may nevertheless withdraw itself from tickling just as if a sensation was consciously felt. Amongst lower animals, a decapitated frog will join its hind feet together to push away an irritating object just as an uninjured animal will do. Here we have coadjusted actions resulting from stimuli which normally produce sensation, but occurring under conditions in which cerebral action does not take place. Did it take place we should have sensations, but by no means necessarily intellectual action.

'Sensation' is not 'thought,' and no amount of the former would constitute the most rudimentary condition of the latter, though sensations supply the conditions for the existence of 'thought' or 'knowledge.'

Altogether, we may clearly distinguish at least six kinds of action to which the nervous system ministers:—

I. That in which impressions received result in appropriate movements without the intervention of sensation or thought, as in the cases of injury above given. (This is the reflex action of the nervous system.)

II. That in which stimuli from without result in sensations through the agency of which their due effects are wrought out. (Sensation.)

\* See 'Journal für Anatomie und Physiologie,' edited by Reichert and Dubois, Berlin.

† 'There is no fundamental difference between man and the higher mammals in their mental faculties.'—*Descent of Man*, vol. i, p. 35.

III. That in which impressions received result in sensations which give rise to the observation of sensible objects.—Sensible perception.

IV. That in which sensations and perceptions continue to coalesce, agglutinate, and combine in more or less complex aggregations, according to the laws of the association of sensible perceptions.—Association.

The above four groups contain only indeliberate operations, consisting, as they do at the best, but of mere *presentative* sensible ideas in no way implying any reflective or *representative* faculty. Such actions minister to and form *Instinct*. Besides these, we may distinguish two other kinds of mental action, namely :—

V. That in which sensations and sensible perceptions are reflected on by thought and recognised as our own and we ourselves recognised by ourselves as affected and perceiving.—Self-consciousness.

VI. That in which we reflect upon our sensations or perceptions, and ask what they are and why they are.—Reason.

These two latter kinds of action are deliberate operations, performed, as they are, by means of representative ideas implying the use of a *reflective representative* faculty. Such actions distinguish the *intellect* or rational faculty. Now, we assert that possession in perfection of all the first four (*presentative*) kinds of action by no means implies the possession of the last two (*representative*) kinds. All persons, we think, must admit the truth of the following proposition :—

Two faculties are distinct, not in degree but *in kind*, if we may possess the one in perfection without that fact implying that we possess the other also. Still more will this be the case if the two faculties tend to increase in an inverse ratio. Yet this is the distinction between the *instinctive* and the *intellectual* parts of man's nature.

As to animals, we fully admit that they may possess all the first four groups of actions—that they may have, so to speak, mental images of sensible objects combined in all degrees of complexity, as governed by the laws of association. We deny to them, on the other hand, the possession of the last two kinds of mental action. We deny them, that is, the power of reflecting on their own existence or of enquiring into the nature of objects and their causes. We deny that they know that they know or know themselves in knowing. In other words, we deny them *reason*. The possession of the presentative faculty, as above explained, in no way implies that of the reflective faculty; nor does any amount of direct operation imply the power of asking the reflective question before mentioned, as to 'what' and 'why.'

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According to our definition, then, given above, the faculties of men and those of other animals differ in kind ; and brutes low in the scale supply us with a good example in support of this distinctness ; for it is in animals generally admitted to be wanting in reason—such as insects (*e. g.* the ant and the bee)—that we have the very summit and perfection of instinct made known to us.

We will shortly examine Mr. Darwin's arguments, and see if he can bring forward a single instance of brute action implying the existence in it of the representative reflective power. Before doing so, however, one or two points as to the conditions of the controversy must be noticed.

In the first place, the position which we maintain is the one in possession—that which is commended to us by our intuitions, by ethical considerations, and by religious teaching universally. The *onus probandi* should surely therefore rest with him who, attacking the accepted position, maintains the essential similarity and fundamental identity of powers the effects of which are so glaringly diverse. Yet Mr. Darwin quietly assumes the whole point in dispute, by asserting identity of *intuition* where there is identity of *sensation* (vol. i. p. 36), which, of course, implies that there is no mental power whatever except sensation. For if the existence of another faculty were allowed by him, it is plain that the action of that other faculty might modify the effects of mere sensation in any being possessed of such additional faculty.

Secondly, it must be remembered that it is a law in all reasoning that where known causes are sufficient to account for any phenomena we shall not gratuitously call in additional causes. If, as we believe to be the case, there is no need whatever to call in the *representative* faculty as an explanation of brute mental action ;—if the phenomena brutes exhibit can be accounted for by the *presentative* faculty—that is, by the presence of sensible perceptions and emotions together with the reflex and co-ordinating powers of the nervous system ;—then to ascribe to them the possession of reason is thoroughly gratuitous.

Thirdly, in addition to the argument that brutes have not intellect because their actions can be accounted for without the exercise of that faculty, we have other and positive arguments in opposition to Mr. Darwin's view of their mental powers. These arguments are based upon the absence in brutes of articulate and rational speech<sup>h</sup> of true concerted action and of educability, in the human sense of the word. We have besides, what may be called an experimental proof in the same direction. For if the germ of a rational nature existed in brutes, such germs would certainly ere this have so developed as to  
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have produced unmistakeably rational phenomena, considering the prodigious lapse of time passed since the entombment of the earliest known fossils. To this question we will return later.

We shall perhaps be met by the assertion that many men may also be taken to be irrational animals, so little do the phenomena they exhibit exceed in dignity and importance the phenomena presented by certain brutes. But, in reply, it is to be remarked that we can only consider men who are truly men—not idiots, and that all *men*, however degraded their social condition, have self-consciousness properly so called, possess the gift of articulate and rational speech, are capable of true concerted action, and have a perception of the existence of right and wrong. On the other hand, no brute has the faculty of articulate, rational speech: most persons will also admit that brutes are not capable of truly concerted action, and we contend most confidently that they have no self-consciousness, properly so called, and no perception of the difference between truth and falsehood and right and wrong.

Let us now consider Mr. Darwin's facts in favour of an opposite conclusion.

1st. His testimony drawn from his own experience and information regarding the lowest races of men.

2nd. The anecdotes he narrates in favour of the intelligence of brutes.

In the first place, we have to thank our author for very distinct and unqualified statements as to the substantial unity of men's mental powers. Thus he tells us:—

'The Fuegians rank amongst the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board H. M. S. "Beagle," who had lived some years in England, and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition, and in most of our mental qualities.'—vol. i. p. 31.

Again he adds:—

'The American aborigines, Negroes and Europeans differ as much from each other in mind as any three races that can be named; yet I was incessantly struck, whilst living with the Fuegians on board the "Beagle," with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours; and so it was with a full-blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate.'—vol. i. p. 232.

Again:—'Differences of this kind (mental) between the highest men of the highest races and the lowest savages, are connected by the finest gradations' (vol. i. p. 35).

Mr. Darwin, then, plainly tells us that all the essential mental characters of civilised man are found in the very lowest races  
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of men, though in a less completely developed state; while, in comparing their mental powers with those of brutes, he says 'No doubt the difference in this respect is enormous' (vol. i. p. 34). As if, however, to diminish the force of this admission, he remarks, what no one would dream of disputing, that there are psychical phenomena common to men and to other animals. He says of man that

'He uses in common with the lower animals inarticulate cries to express his meaning, aided by gestures and the movements of the muscles of the face. This especially holds good with the more simple and vivid feelings, which are *but little connected with the higher intelligence*. Our cries of pain, fear, surprise, anger, together with their appropriate actions, and the murmur of a mother to her beloved child, are more expressive than any words.'—vol. i. p. 51.

But, inasmuch as it is admitted on all hands that man is an animal, and therefore has all the four lower faculties enumerated in our list, as well as the two higher ones, the fact that he makes use of common instinctive actions in no way diminishes the force of the distinction between him and brutes as regards the representative, reflective faculties. It rather follows as a matter of course from his animality that he should manifest phenomena common to him and to brutes. That man has a common nature with them is perfectly compatible with his having, besides, a superior nature and faculties of which no brute has any rudiment or vestige. Indeed, all the arguments and objections in Mr. Darwin's second chapter may be met by the fact that man being an animal, has corresponding faculties, whence arises a certain external conformity with other animals as to the modes of expressing some mental modifications. In the overlooking of this possibility of coexistence of two natures lies that error of negation to which we before alluded. Here, as in other parts of the book, we may say there are two quantities  $a$  and  $a + x$ , and Mr. Darwin, seeing the two  $a$ s but neglecting the  $x$ , represents the quantities as equal.

We will now notice the anecdotes narrated by Mr. Darwin in support of the rationality of brutes. Before doing so, however, we must remark that our author's statements, given on the authority (sometimes second-hand authority) of others, afford little evidence of careful criticism. This is the more noteworthy when we consider the conscientious care and pains which he bestows on all the phenomena which he examines himself.

Thus, for example, we are told on the authority of Brehm that—

'An eagle seized a young cercopithecus, which, by clinging to a branch, was not at once carried off; it cried loudly for assistance, upon

upon which other members of the troop, with much uproar rushed to the rescue, surrounded the eagle, and pulled out so many feathers that he no longer thought of his prey, but only how to escape.'—vol. i. p. 76.

We confess we wish that Mr. Darwin had himself witnessed this episode. Perhaps, however, he has seen other facts sufficiently similar to render this one credible. In the absence of really trustworthy evidence we should, however, be inclined to doubt the fact of a young cercopithecus, unexpectedly seized, being able, by clinging, to resist the action of an eagle's wings.

We are surprised that Mr. Darwin should have accepted the following tale without suspicion:—

'One female baboon had so capacious a heart that she not only adopted young monkeys of other species, but stole young dogs and cats which she continually carried about. Her kindness, however, did not go so far as to share her food with her adopted offspring, at which Brehm was surprised, as his monkeys always divided everything quite fairly with their own young ones. An adopted kitten scratched the above-mentioned affectionate baboon, *who certainly had a fine intellect*, for she was much astonished at being scratched, and immediately examined the kitten's feet, and without more ado bit off the claws.' (!) —vol. i. p. 41.

Has Mr. Darwin ever tested this alleged fact? Would it be possible for a baboon to bite off the claws of a kitten without keeping the feet perfectly straight?

Again we have an anecdote on only second-hand authority (namely a quotation by Brehm of Schimper) to the following effect:—

'In Abyssinia, when the baboons belonging to one species (*C. gelada*) descend in troops from the mountains to plunder the fields, they sometimes encounter troops of another species (*C. hamadryas*), and then a fight ensues. The *Geladas* roll down great stones, which the *Hamadryas* try to avoid, and then both species, making a great uproar, rush furiously against each other. Brehm, when accompanying the Duke of Coburg-Gotha, aided in an attack with fire-arms on a troop of baboons in the pass of Mensa in Abyssinia. The baboons in return rolled so many stones down the mountain, some as large as a man's head, that the attackers had to beat a hasty retreat; and the pass was actually for a time closed against the caravan. It deserves notice that these baboons thus acted in concert.'—vol. i. p. 51.

Now, if every statement of fact here given be absolutely correct, it in no way even tends to invalidate the distinction we have drawn between 'instinct' and 'reason'; but the positive assertion that the brutes 'acted in concert,' when the evidence proves nothing more than that their actions were simultaneous, shows

shows a strong bias on the part of the narrator. A flock of sheep will simultaneously turn round and stare and stamp at an intruder; but this is not 'concerted action,' which means that actions are not only simultaneous, but are so in consequence of a reciprocal understanding and convention between the various agents. It may be added that if any brutes were capable of such really *concerted* action, the effects would soon make themselves known to us so forcibly as to prevent the possibility of mistake.

We come now to Mr. Darwin's instances of brute rationality. In the first place he tells us:—

'I had a dog who was savage and averse to all strangers, and I purposely tried his memory after an absence of five years and two days. I went near the stable where he lived, and shouted to him in my old manner; he showed no joy, but instantly followed me out walking and obeyed me, exactly as if I had parted with him only half an hour before. A train of old associations, dormant during five years, had thus been instantaneously awakened in his mind.'—vol. i. p. 45.

No doubt! but this is not 'reason.' Indeed, we could hardly have a better instance of the mere action of associated sensible impressions. What is there here which implies more than memory, impressions of sensible objects and their association? Had there been reason there would have been signs of joy and wonder, though such signs would not alone prove reason to exist. It is evident that Mr. Darwin's own mode of explanation is the sufficient one—namely, by a train of associated sensible impressions. Mr. Darwin surely cannot think that there is in this case any evidence of the dog's having put to himself those questions which, under the circumstances, a rational being would put. Mr. Darwin also tells us how a monkey-trainer gave up in despair the education of monkeys, of which the attention was easily distracted from his teaching, while 'a monkey which carefully attended to him could always be trained.' But 'attention' does not imply 'reason.' The anecdote only shows that some monkeys are more easily impressed and more retentive of impressions than others.

Again, we are told, as an instance of *reason*, that 'Rengger sometimes put a live wasp in paper so that the monkeys in hastily unfolding it got stung; after this had once happened, they always first held the jacket to their ears to detect any movement within.' But here again we have no need to call in the aid of 'reason.' The monkeys had had the group of sensations 'folded paper' associated with the other groups—'noise and movement' and 'stung fingers.' The second time they experi-  
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ence the group of sensations 'folded paper' the succeeding sensations (in this instance only too keenly associated) are forcibly recalled, and with the recollection of the sensation of hearing, the hand goes to the ear. Yet Mr. Darwin considers this unimportant instance of such significance that he goes on to say :—

'Any one who is not convinced by such facts as these, and by what he may observe with his own dogs, that animals can reason, would not be convinced by anything I could add. Nevertheless, I will give one case with respect to dogs, as it rests on two distinct observers, and can *hardly depend on the modification of any instinct*. Mr. Colquhoun winged two wild ducks, which fell on the opposite side of a stream; his retriever tried to bring over both at once, but could not succeed; she then, though never before known to ruffle a feather, deliberately killed one, brought over the other, and returned for the dead bird. Colonel Hutchinson relates that two partridges were shot at once, one being killed and the other wounded; the latter ran away, and was caught by the retriever, who on her return came across the dead bird; she stopped, evidently greatly puzzled, and after one or two trials, finding she could not take it up without permitting the escape of the winged bird, she considered a moment, then deliberately murdered it by giving it a severe crunch, and afterwards brought away both together. This was the only known instance of her having wilfully injured any game.'

Mr. Darwin adds :

'Here we have reason, though not quite perfect, for the retriever might have brought the wounded bird first and then returned for the dead one, as in the case of the two wild ducks.'—vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

Here we reply we have nothing of the kind, and to bring 'reason' into play is gratuitous. The circumstances can be perfectly explained (and on Mr. Darwin's own principles) as evidences of the revival of an old instinct. The ancestors of sporting dogs of course killed their prey, and that trained dogs do not kill it is simply due to man's action, which has suppressed the instinct by education, and which continually thus keeps it under control. It is indubitable that the old tendency *must* be latent, and that a small interruption in the normal retrieving process, such as occurred in the cases cited, would probably be sufficient to revive that old tendency and call the obsolete habit into exercise.

But perhaps the most surprising instance of groundless inference is presented in the following passage :—

'My dog, a full grown and very sensible animal, was lying on the lawn during a hot and still day; but at a little distance a slight breeze occasionally moved an open parasol, which would have been wholly disregarded by the dog, had any one stood near it. As it was,  
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every time that the parrasol slightly moved, the dog growled fiercely and barked. He must, I think, have reasoned to himself in a rapid and unconscious manner, that movement without any apparent cause indicated the presence of some strange living agent, and no stranger had a right to be on his territory.'—vol. i. p. 67.

The consequences deduced from this trivial incident are amazing. Probably, however, Mr. Darwin does not mean what he says; but, on the face of it, we have a brute credited with the abstract ideas 'movement,' 'causation,' and the notions logically arranged and classified in subordinate genera—'agent,' 'living agent,' 'strange living agent.' He also attributes to it the notion of 'a right' of 'territorial limitation,' and the relation of such 'limited territory' and 'personal ownership.' It may safely be affirmed that if a dog could so reason in one instance he would in others, and would give much more unequivocal proofs for Mr. Darwin to bring forward.

Mr. Darwin, however, speaks of reasoning in an 'unconscious manner,' so that he cannot really mean any process of reasoning at all; but, if so, his case is in no way apposite. Even an insect can be startled, and will exhibit as much evidence of rationality as is afforded by the growl of a dog; and all that is really necessary to explain such a phenomenon exists in an oyster, or even in the much talked-of Ascidian.

Thus, then, it appears that, even in Mr. Darwin's specially-selected instances, there is not a tittle of evidence tending, however slightly, to show that any brute possesses the representative reflective faculties. But if, as we assert, brute animals are destitute of such higher faculties, it may well be that those lower faculties which they have (and which we more or less share with them) are highly developed, and their senses possess a degree of keenness and quickness inconceivable to us. Their minds\* being entirely occupied with such lower faculties, and having, so to speak, nothing else to occupy them, their sensible impressions may become interwoven and connected to a far greater extent than in us. Indeed, in the absence of free will, the laws of this association of ideas obtain supreme command over the minds of brutes: the brute being entirely immersed, as it were, in his presentative faculties.

There yet remain two matters for consideration, which tend to prove the fundamental difference which exists between the mental powers of man and brutes:—1. The mental equality

\* The words 'mind,' 'mental,' 'intelligence,' &c., are here made use of in reference to the psychological faculties of brutes, in conformity to popular usage, and not as strictly appropriate.

between animals of very different grades of structure, and their non-progressiveness; 2. The question of articulate speech.

Considering the vast antiquity of the great animal groups,\* it is, indeed, remarkable how little advance in mental capacity has been achieved even by the highest brutes. This is made especially evident by Mr. Darwin's own assertions as to the capacities of lowly animals. Thus he tells us that—

‘Mr. Gardner, whilst watching a shore-crab (*Gelasimus*) making its burrow, threw some shells towards the hole. One rolled in, and three other shells remained within a few inches of the mouth. In about five minutes the crab brought out the shell which had fallen in, and carried it away to the distance of a foot; it then saw the three other shells lying near, and *evidently thinking* that they might likewise roll in, carried them to the spot where it had laid the first.’—vol. i. p. 334.

Mr. Darwin adds or quotes the astonishing remark, ‘It would, I think, be difficult to distinguish this act from one performed by man by the aid of reason.’ Again, he tells us:—

‘Mr. Lonsdale informs me that he placed a pair of land-shells (*Helix pomatia*), one of which was weakly, into a small and ill-provided garden. After a short time the strong and healthy individual disappeared, and was traced by its track of slime over a wall into an adjoining well-stocked garden. Mr. Lonsdale concluded that it had deserted its sickly mate; but after an absence of twenty-four hours it returned, and apparently communicated the result of its successful exploration, for both then started along the same track and disappeared over the wall.’—vol. i. p. 325.

Whatever may be the real value of the statements quoted, they harmonize with a matter which is incontestable. We refer to the fact that the intelligence of brutes, be they high or be they low, is essentially one in kind, there being a singular parity between animals belonging to groups widely different in type of structure and in degree of development.

Apart from the small modifications which experience occasionally introduces into the habits of animals—as sometimes occurs after man has begun to frequent a newly-discovered island—it cannot be denied that, looking broadly over the whole animal kingdom, there is no evidence of advance in mental power on the part of brutes. This absence of progression in animal intelligence is a very important consideration, and it is one which does not seem to be adverted to by Mr. Darwin,

\* Mr. Darwin (vol. i. p. 360) refers to Dr. Seudder's discovery of ‘a fossil insect in the Devonian formation of New Brunswick, furnished with the well-known tympanum or stridulating apparatus of the male *Locustidae*.’

though the facts detailed by him are exceedingly suggestive of it.

When we speak of this absence of progression we do not, of course, mean to deny that the dog is superior in mental activity to the fish, or the jackdaw to the toad. But we mean that, considering the vast period of time that must (on Mr. Darwin's theory) have elapsed for the evolution of an Orang from an Ascidian, and considering how beneficial increased intelligence must be to all in the struggle for life, it is inconceivable (on Mr. Darwin's principles only) that a mental advance should not have taken place greater in degree, more generally diffused, and more in proportion to the grade of the various animals than we find to be actually the case. For in what respect is the intelligence of the ape superior to that of the dog or of the elephant? It cannot be said that there is one point in which its psychical nature approximates to man more than that of those four-footed beasts. But, again, where is the great superiority of a dog or an ape over a bird? The falcon trained to hawking is at least as remarkable an instance of the power of education as the trained dog. The tricks which birds can be taught to perform are as complex and wonderful as those acted by the mammal. The phenomena of nidification, and some of those now brought forward by Mr. Darwin as to courtship, are fully comparable with analogous phenomena of quasi-intelligence in any beast.

This, however, is but a small part of the argument. For let us descend to the invertebrata, and what do we find?—a restriction of their quasi-mental faculties proportioned to their constantly inferior type of structure? By no means. We find, *e. g.*, in ants, phenomena which simulate those of an intelligence such as ours far more than do any phenomena exhibited by the highest beasts. Ants display a complete and complex political organization, classes of beings socially distinct, war resulting in the capture of slaves, and the appropriation and maintenance of domestic animals (*Aphides*) analogous to our milk-giving cattle.

Mr. Darwin truthfully remarks on the great difference in these respects between such creatures as ants and bees, and singularly inert members of the same class—such as the scale insect or coccus. But can it be pretended that the action of natural and sexual selection has alone produced these phenomena in certain insects, and failed to produce them in any other mere animals even of the very highest class? If these phenomena are due to a power and faculty similar in kind to human intelligence, and which power is latent and capable of evolution in all animals, then it is certain that this power must have been evolved in other instances also, and that we should see varying degrees of it in  
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many, and notably in the highest brutes as well as in man. If, on the other hand, the faculties of brutes are different in kind from human intelligence, there can be no reason whatever why animals most closely approaching man in physical structure should resemble him in psychical nature also.

This reflection leads us to the difference which exists between men and brutes as regards the faculty of articulate speech. Mr. Darwin remarks that of the distinctively human characters this has 'justly been considered as one of the chief' (vol. i. p. 53). We cannot agree in this. Some brutes can articulate, and it is quite conceivable that brutes might (though as a fact they do not) so associate certain sensations and gratifications with certain articulate sounds as, in a certain sense, to speak. This, however, would in no way even tend to bridge over the gulf which exists between the representative reflective faculties and the merely presentative ones. Articulate signs of sensible impressions would be fundamentally as distinct as mere gestures are from truly rational speech.

Mr. Darwin evades the question about language by in one place (vol. i. p. 54) attributing that faculty in man to his having acquired a higher intellectual nature; and in another (vol. ii. p. 391), by ascribing his higher intellectual nature to his having acquired that faculty.

Our author's attempts to bridge over the chasm which separates instinctive cries from rational speech are remarkable examples of groundless speculation. Thus he ventures to say—

'That primeval man, or rather some early progenitor of man, *probably* used his voice largely, as does one of the gibbon-apes at the present day, in producing true musical cadences, that is in singing; we may conclude from a widely-spread analogy that this power would have been especially exerted during the courtship of the sexes, serving to express various emotions, as love, jealousy, triumph, and serving as a challenge to their rivals. The imitation by articulate sounds of musical cries *might* have given rise to words expressive of various complex emotions.'

And again:

'It does not appear *altogether incredible*, that some unusually wise ape-like animal should have thought of imitating the growl of a beast of prey, so as to indicate to his fellow monkeys the nature of the expected danger. And this would have been a first step in the formation of a language.'—vol. i. p. 56.

But the question, not whether it is incredible, but whether there are any data whatever to warrant such a supposition. Mr. Darwin brings forward none: we suspect none could be brought forward.

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It is not, however, emotional expressions or manifestations of sensible impressions, in whatever way exhibited, which have to be accounted for, but the enunciation of distinct deliberate judgments as to 'the what,' 'the how,' and 'the why,' by definite articulate sounds; and for these Mr. Darwin not only does not account, but he does not adduce anything even tending to account for them. Altogether we may fairly conclude, from the complete failure of Mr. Darwin to establish identity of kind between the mental faculties of man and of brutes, that identity cannot be established; as we are not likely for many years to meet with a naturalist so competent to collect and marshal facts in support of such identity, if any such facts there are. The old barrier, then, between 'presentative instinct' and 'representative reason' remains still unimpaired, and, as we believe, insurmountable.

We now pass to another question, which is of even greater consequence than that of man's intellectual powers. Mr. Darwin does not hesitate to declare that even the 'moral sense' is a mere result of the development of brutal instincts. He maintains, 'the first foundation or origin of the moral sense lies in the social instincts, including sympathy; and these instincts no doubt were primarily gained, as in the case of the lower animals, through natural selection' (vol. ii. p. 394).

Everything, however, depends upon what we mean by the 'moral sense.' It is a patent fact that there does exist a perception of the qualities 'right' and 'wrong' attaching to certain actions. However arising, men have a consciousness of an absolute and immutable rule *legitimately* claiming obedience with an authority necessarily supreme and absolute—in other words, intellectual judgments are formed which imply the existence of an ethical ideal in the judging mind.

It is the existence of this power which has to be accounted for; neither its application nor even its validity have to be considered. Yet instances of difference of opinion respecting the moral value of particular concrete actions are often brought forward as if they could disprove the *existence* of moral intuition. Such instances are utterly beside the question. It is amply sufficient for our purpose if it be conceded that developed reason dictates to us that certain modes of action, abstractedly considered, are intrinsically wrong; and this we believe to be indisputable.

It is equally beside the question to show that the existence of mutually beneficial acts and of altruistic habits can be explained by 'natural selection.' No amount of benevolent habits tend even in the remotest degree to account for the intellectual perception

ception of 'right' and 'duty.' Such habits may make the doing of beneficial acts pleasant, and their omission painful; but such feelings have essentially nothing whatever to do with the perception of 'right' and 'wrong,' nor will the faintest incipient stage of the perception be accounted for by the strongest development of such sympathetic feelings. Liking to do acts which happen to be good, is one thing; seeing that actions are good, whether we or others like them or not, is quite another.

Mr. Darwin's account of the moral sense is very different from the above. It may be expressed most briefly by saying that it is the prevalence of more enduring instincts over less persistent ones—the former being social instincts, the latter personal ones. He tells us:—

'As man cannot prevent old impressions continually repassing through his mind, he will be compelled to compare the weaker impressions of, for instance, past hunger, or of vengeance satisfied or danger avoided at the cost of other men, with the instinct of sympathy and goodwill to his fellows, which is still present and ever in some degree active in his mind. He will then feel in his imagination that a stronger instinct has yielded to one which now seems comparatively weak; and then that sense of dissatisfaction will inevitably be felt with which man is endowed, like every other animal, in order that his instincts may be obeyed.'—vol. i. p. 90.

Mr. Darwin means by 'the moral sense' an instinct, and adds, truly enough, that 'the very essence of an instinct is, that it is followed independently of reason' (vol. i. p. 100). But the very essence of moral action is that it is *not* followed independently of reason.

Having stated our wide divergence from Mr. Darwin with respect to what the term 'moral sense' denotes, we might be dispensed from criticising instances which must from our point of view be irrelevant, as Mr. Darwin would probably admit. Nevertheless, let us examine a few of these instances, and see if we can discover in them any justification of the views he propounds.

As illustrations of the development of self-reproach for the neglect of some good action, he observes:—

'A young pointer, when it first scents game, apparently cannot help pointing. A squirrel in a cage who puts the nuts which it cannot eat, as if to bury them in the ground, can hardly be thought to act thus either from pleasure or pain. Hence the common assumption that men must be impelled to every action by experiencing some pleasure or pain may be erroneous. Although a habit may be blindly and implicitly followed, independently of any pleasure or pain felt at the moment, yet if it be forcibly and abruptly checked, a vague sense of

of dissatisfaction is generally experienced; and this is especially true in regard to persons of feeble intellect.'—vol. i. p. 80.

Now, passing over the question whether in the 'pointing' and 'patting' referred to there may not be some agreeable sensations, we contend that such instincts have nothing to do with 'morality,' from their blind nature, such blindness simply *ipso facto* eliminating every vestige of morality from an action.

Mr. Darwin certainly exaggerates the force and extent of social sympathetic feelings. Mr. Mill admits that they are 'often wanting;' but Mr. Darwin claims the conscious possession of such feelings for all, and quotes Hume as saying that the view of the happiness of others 'communicates a secret joy,' while the appearance of their misery 'throws a melancholy damp over the imagination.\*' One might wish that this remark were universally true, but unfortunately some men take pleasure in the pain of others; and Larochefoucauld even ventured on the now well-known saying, 'that there is something in the misfortunes of our best friends not unpleasant to us.' But our feeling that the sufferings of others are pleasant or unpleasant has nothing to do with the question, which refers to the *judgment* whether the indulging of such feelings is 'right' or 'wrong.'

If the 'social instinct' were the real basis of the moral sense, the fact that society approved of anything would be recognised as the supreme sanction of it. Not only, however, is this not so, not only do we judge as to whether society in certain cases is right or wrong, but we demand a reason why we should obey society at all; we demand a rational basis and justification for social claims, if we happen to have a somewhat inquiring turn of mind. We shall be sure avowedly or secretly to despise and neglect the performance of acts which we do not happen to desire, and which have not an intellectual sanction.

The only passage in which our author seems as if about to meet the real question at issue is very disappointing, as the difficulty is merely evaded. He remarks, 'I am aware that some persons maintain that actions performed impulsively do not come under the dominion of the moral sense, and cannot be called moral' (vol. i. p. 87). This is not a correct statement of the intuitive view, and the difficulty is evaded thus: 'But it appears scarcely possible to draw any clear line of distinction of this kind, though the distinction may be real!' It seems to us, however, that there is no difficulty at all in drawing a line

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\* 'Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals,' Edit. 1751, p. 132.  
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between a judgment as to an action being right or wrong and every other kind of mental act. Mr. Darwin goes on to say :—

‘Moreover, an action repeatedly performed by us, will at last be done without deliberation or hesitation, and can then hardly be distinguished from an instinct; yet surely no one will pretend that an action thus done ceases to be moral. On the contrary, we all feel that an act cannot be considered as perfect, or as performed in the most noble manner, unless it is done impulsively, without deliberation or effort, in the same manner as by a man in whom the requisite qualities are innate.’—vol. i. p. 88.

To this must be replied, in one sense, ‘Yes;’ in another, ‘No.’ An action which has ceased to be directly or indirectly deliberate has ceased to be moral as a distinct act, but it is moral as the continuation of those preceding deliberate acts through which the good habit was originally formed, and the rapidity with which the will is directed in the case supposed may indicate the number and constancy of antecedent meritorious volitions. Mr. Darwin seems to see this more or less, as he adds: ‘He who is forced to overcome his fear or want of sympathy before he acts, deserves, however, in one way higher credit than the man whose innate disposition leads him to a good act without effort.’

As an illustration of the genesis of remorse, we have the case ‘of a temporary though for the time strongly persistent instinct conquering another instinct which is usually dominant over all others.’ Swallows ‘at the proper season seem all day long to be impressed with the desire to migrate; their habits change; they become restless, are noisy, and congregate in flocks. Whilst the mother-bird is feeding or brooding over her nestlings, the maternal instinct is probably stronger than the migratory; but the instinct which is more persistent gains the victory, and at last, at a moment when her young ones are not in sight, she takes flight and deserts them. When arrived at the end of her long journey, and the migratory instinct ceases to act, what an agony of remorse each bird would feel, if, from being endowed with great mental activity, she could not prevent the image continually passing before her mind of her young ones perishing in the bleak north from cold and hunger.’—vol. i. p. 90.

Let us suppose she does suffer ‘agony,’ that feeling would be nothing to the purpose. What is requisite is that she shall judge that she *ought not* to have left them. To make clear our point, let us imagine a man formerly entangled in ties of affection which in justice to another his conscience has induced him to sever. The image of the distress his act of severance has caused may occasion him keen emotional suffering for years, accompanied by a clear perception that his act has been right. Again, let us  
suppose

suppose another case: The struggling father of a family becomes aware that the property on which he lives really belongs to another, and he relinquishes it. He may continue to judge that he has done a proper action, whilst tortured by the trials in which his act of justice has involved him. To assert that these acts are merely instinctive would be absurdly false. In the cases supposed, obedience is paid to a clear intellectual perception and against the very strongest instincts.

That we have not misrepresented Mr. Darwin's exposition of 'conscience' is manifest. He says that if a man has gratified a passing instinct, to the neglect of an enduring instinct, he 'will then feel dissatisfied with himself, and will resolve with more or less force to act differently for the future. This is conscience; for conscience looks backwards and judges past actions, inducing that kind of dissatisfaction, which if weak we call regret, and if severe remorse' (vol. i. p. 91.) 'Conscience' certainly 'looks back and judges,' but not all that 'looks back and judges' is 'conscience.' A judgment of conscience is one of a particular kind, namely a judgment according to the standard of moral worth. But for this, a *gourmand*, looking back and judging that a particular sauce had occasioned him dyspepsia, would, in the dissatisfaction arising from his having eaten the wrong dish at dinner, exercise his conscience!

Indeed, elsewhere (vol. i. p. 103) Mr. Darwin speaks of 'the standard of morality rising higher and higher,' though he nowhere explains what he means either by the 'standard' or by the 'higher;' and, indeed, it is very difficult to understand what can possibly be meant by this 'rising of the standard,' if the 'standard' is from first to last pleasure and profit.

We find, again, the singular remark:—'If any desire or instinct leading to an action opposed to the good of others, still appears to a man, when recalled to mind, as strong as or stronger than his social instinct, he will feel no keen regret at having followed it' (vol. i. p. 92).

Mr. Darwin is continually mistaking a merely beneficial action for a moral one; but, as before said, it is one thing to *act well* and quite another to be a moral agent. A dog or even a fruit-tree may act well, but neither is a moral agent. Of course, all the instances he brings forward with regard to animals are not in point, on account of this misconception of the problem to be solved. He gives, however, some examples which tell strongly against his own view. Thus, he remarks of the *Law of Honour*—'The breach of this law, even when the breach is known to be strictly accordant with true morality, has caused many a man more agony than a real crime. We recognise the same influence

in the sense of burning shame which most of us have felt, even after the interval of years, when calling to mind some accidental breach of a trifling, though fixed, rule of etiquette' (vol. i. p. 92). This is most true; some trifling breach of good manners may indeed occasion us pain; but this may be unaccompanied by a judgment that we are morally blameworthy. It is judgment, and not feeling, which has to do with right and wrong. But a yet better example might be given. What quality can have been more universally useful to social communities than courage? It has always been, and is still, greatly admired and highly appreciated, and is especially adapted, both directly and indirectly, to enable its possessors to become the fathers of succeeding generations. If the social instinct were the basis of the moral sense, it is infallibly certain that courage must have come to be regarded as supremely 'good,' and cowardice to be deserving of the deepest moral condemnation. And yet what is the fact? A coward feels probably self-contempt and that he has incurred the contempt of his associates, but he does not feel 'wicked.' He is painfully conscious of his defective organization, but he knows that an organization, however defective, cannot, in itself, constitute moral demerit. Similarly, we, the observers, despise, avoid, or hate a coward; but we can clearly understand that a coward may be a more virtuous man than another who abounds in animal courage.

The better still to show how completely distinct are the conceptions 'enduring or strong instincts' and 'virtuous desires' on the one hand, and 'transient or weak impulses' and 'vicious inclinations' on the other, let us substitute in the following passage for the words which Mr. Darwin, on his own principles, illegitimately introduces, others which accord with those principles, and we shall see how such substitution eliminates every element of morality from the passage:—

'Looking to future generations, there is no cause to fear that the social instincts will grow weaker, and we may expect that enduring [virtuous] habits will grow stronger, becoming perhaps fixed by inheritance. In this case the struggle between our stronger [higher] and weaker [lower] impulses will be less severe, and the strong [virtue] will be triumphant' (vol. i. p. 101).

As to past generations, Mr. Darwin tells us (vol. i. p. 166) that at all times throughout the world tribes have supplanted other tribes; and as social acts are an element in their success, sociality must have been intensified, and this because 'an increase in the number of well-endowed men will certainly give an immense advantage to one tribe over another.' No doubt! but this only

only explains an augmentation of mutually beneficial actions. It does not in the least even tend to explain how the moral judgment was first formed.

Having thus examined Mr. Darwin's theory of Sexual Selection, and his comparison of the mental powers of man (including their moral application) with those of the lower animals, we have a few remarks to make upon his mode of conducting his argument.

In the first place we must repeat what we have already said as to his singular dogmatism, and in the second place we must complain of the way in which he positively affirms again and again the existence of the very things which have to be proved. Thus, to take for instance the theory of the descent of man from some inferior form, he says :—‘ the grounds upon which this conclusion rests *will never be shaken* ’ (vol. ii. p. 385), and ‘ the possession of exalted mental powers is *no* insuperable objection to this conclusion ’ (vol. i. p. 107). Speaking of sympathy, he boldly remarks, — ‘ this instinct *no doubt* was originally acquired like all the other social instincts through natural selection ’ (vol. i. p. 161); and ‘ the fundamental social instincts *were* originally thus gained ’ (vol. i. p. 173).

Again, as to the stridulating organs of insects, he says :—‘ No one who admits the agency of natural selection, will dispute that these musical instruments have been acquired through sexual selection.’ Speaking of the peculiarities of humming-birds and pigeons, Mr. Darwin observes, ‘ the *sole* difference between these cases is, that in one the result is due to man's selection, whilst in the other, as with humming-birds, birds of paradise, &c., it is due to sexual selection,—that is, to the selection by the females of the more beautiful males ’ (vol. ii. p. 78.) Of birds, the males of which are brilliant, but the hens are only slightly so, he remarks : ‘ these cases *are almost certainly* due to characters primarily acquired by the male, having been transferred, in a greater or less degree, to the female ’ (vol. ii. p. 128). ‘ The colours of the males may *safely* be attributed to sexual selection ’ (vol. ii. p. 194). As to certain species of birds in which the males alone are black, we are told, there can *hardly be a doubt*, that blackness in these cases has been a sexually selected character ’ (vol. ii. p. 223). The following, again, is far too positive a statement :—‘ Other characters proper to the males of the lower animals, such as bright colours, and various ornaments *have been* acquired by ‘ the more attractive males having been preferred by the females. There are, however, exceptional cases, in which the males, instead of having been selected, *have been* the selectors ’ (vol. ii. p. 311).

It is very rarely that Mr. Darwin fails in courtesy to his opponents ; and we were therefore surprised at the tone of the following passage (vol. ii. p. 386) :—‘ He who is not content to look, *like a savage*, at the phenomena of nature as disconnected, *cannot* any longer believe that man is the work of a separate act of creation. He will be *forced* to admit’ the contrary. What justifies Mr. Darwin in his assumption that to suppose the soul of man to have been specially created, is to regard the phenomena of nature as disconnected ?

In connexion with this assumption of superiority on Mr. Darwin's part, we may notice another matter of less importance, but which tends to produce the same effect on the minds of his readers. We allude to the terms of panegyric with which he introduces the names or opinions of every disciple of evolutionism, while writers of equal eminence, who have not adopted Mr. Darwin's views, are quoted, for the most part, without any commendation. Thus we read of our ‘ great anatomist and philosopher, Prof. Huxley,’—of ‘ our great philosopher, Herbert Spencer,’—of ‘ the remarkable work of Mr. Galton,’—of ‘ the admirable treatises of Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock,’—and so on. We do not grudge these gentlemen such honorific mention, which some of them well deserve, but the repetition produces an unpleasant effect ; and we venture to question the good taste on Mr. Darwin's part, in thus speaking of the adherents to his own views, when we do not remember, for example, a word of praise bestowed upon Prof. Owen in the numerous quotations which our author has made from his works.

Secondly, as an instance of Mr. Darwin's practice of begging the question at issue, we may quote the following assertion :—‘ Any animal whatever, endowed with well-marked social *instincts*, would inevitably acquire a moral sense or *conscience*, as soon as its intellectual powers had become as well developed, or nearly as well developed, as in man’ (vol. i. p. 71). This is either a monstrous assumption or a mere truism ; it is a truism, for of course, any creature with the intellect of a man would perceive the qualities men's intellect is capable of perceiving, and, amongst them—moral worth.

Mr. Darwin, in a passage before quoted (vol. i. p. 86) slips in the whole of absolute morality, by employing the phrase ‘ appreciation of justice.’ Again (vol. i. p. 168), when he speaks of aiding the needy, he remarks :—‘ Nor could we check our sympathy, if so urged by hard reason, without deterioration in the *noblest* part of our nature.’ How noblest ? According to Mr. Darwin, a virtuous instinct is a strong and permanent one. There can be, according to his views, no other elements of quality  
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than intensity and duration. Mr. Darwin, in fact, thus silently and unconsciously introduces the moral element into his 'social instinct,' and then, of course, has no difficulty in finding in the latter what he had previously put there. This, however, is quite illegitimate, as he makes the social instinct synonymous with the gregariousness of brutes. In such gregariousness, however, there is no moral element, because the mental powers of brutes are not equal to forming reflective, deliberate, representative judgments.

The word 'social' is ambiguous, as gregarious animals may metaphorically be called social, and man's social relations may be regarded both beneficentially and morally. Having first used 'social' in the former sense, it is subsequently applied in the latter; and it is thus that the really moral conception is silently and illegitimately introduced.

We may now sum up our judgment of Mr. Darwin's work on the '*Descent of Man*'—of its execution and tendency, of what it fails to accomplish and of what it has successfully attained.

Although the style of the work is, as we have said, fascinating, nevertheless we think that the author is somewhat encumbered with the multitude of his facts, which at times he seems hardly able to group and handle so effectively as might be expected from his special talent. Nor does he appear to have maturely reflected over the data he has so industriously collected. Moreover, we are surprised to find so accurate an observer receiving as facts many statements of a very questionable nature, as we have already pointed out, and frequently on second-hand authority. The reasoning also is inconclusive, the author having allowed himself constantly to be carried away by the warmth and fertility of his imagination. In fact, Mr. Darwin's power of reasoning seems to be in an inverse ratio to his power of observation. He now strangely exaggerates the action of 'sexual selection,' as previously he exaggerated the effects of the 'survival of the fittest.' On the whole, we are convinced that by the present work the cause of 'natural selection' has been rather injured than promoted; and we confess to a feeling of surprise that the case put before us is not stronger, since we had anticipated the production of far more telling and significant details from Mr. Darwin's biological treasure-house.

A great part of the work may be dismissed as beside the point—as a mere elaborate and profuse statement of the obvious fact, which no one denies, that man is an animal, and has all the essential properties of a highly organised one. Along with this truth, however, we find the assumption  
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that he is *no more* than an animal—an assumption which is necessarily implied in Mr. Darwin's distinct assertion that there is no difference of *kind*, but merely one of *degree*, between man's mental faculties and those of brutes.

We have endeavoured to show that this is distinctly untrue. We maintain that while there is no need to abandon the received position that man is truly an animal, he is yet the only rational one known to us, and that his rationality constitutes a fundamental distinction—one of *kind* and not of *degree*. The estimate we have formed of man's position differs therefore most widely from that of Mr. Darwin.

Mr. Darwin's remarks, before referred to (*ante*, p. 77), concerning the difference between the instincts of the cocoon (or scale insect) and those of the ant—and the bearing of that difference on their zoological position (as both are members of the class insecta) and on that of man—exhibit clearly his misapprehension as to the true significance of man's mental powers.

For in the first place zoological classification is morphological. That is to say it is a classification based upon form and structure—upon the number and shape of the several parts of animals, and not at all upon what those parts *do*, the consideration of which belongs to physiology. This being the case we not only may, but *should*, in the field of zoology, neglect all questions of diversities of instinct or mental power, equally with every other power, as is evidenced by the location of the bat and the porpoise in the same class, mammalia, and the parrot and the tortoise in the same larger group, Sauropsida.

Looking, therefore, at man with regard to his bodily structure, we not only may, but *should*, reckon him as a member of the class mammalia, and even (we believe) consider him as the representative of a mere family of the first order of that class. But all men are not zoologists; and even zoologists must, outside their science, consider man in his totality and not merely from the point of view of anatomy.

If then we are right in our confident assertion that man's mental faculties are different *in kind* from those of brutes, and if he is, as we maintain, the only rational animal; then is man, as a whole, to be spoken of by preference from the point of view of his animality, or from the point of view of his rationality? Surely from the latter, and, if so, we must consider not structure, but action.

Now Mr. Darwin seems to concede\* that a difference in kind *would* justify the placing of man in a distinct kingdom, inasmuch

as he says a difference in degree does not so justify; and we have no hesitation in affirming (with Mr. Darwin) that between the instinctive powers of the coccus and the ant there is but a difference of degree, and that, therefore, they do belong to the same kingdom; but we contend it is quite otherwise with man. Mr. Darwin doubtless admits that all the wonderful actions of ants are mere modifications of instinct. But if it were not so—if the piercing of tunnels beneath rivers, &c., were evidence of their possession of reason, then, far from agreeing with Mr. Darwin, we should say that ants also are rational animals, and that, while considered from the anatomical stand-point they would be insects, from that of their rationality they would rank together with man in a kingdom apart of 'rational animals.' Really, however, there is no tittle of evidence that ants possess the reflective, self-conscious, deliberate faculty; while the perfection of their instincts is a most powerful argument against the need of attributing a rudiment of rationality to any brute whatever.

We seem then to have Mr. Darwin on our side when we affirm that animals possessed of mental faculties distinct in kind should be placed in a kingdom apart. And man possesses such a distinction.

Is this, however, all that can be said for the dignity of his position? Is he merely one division of the visible universe co-ordinate with the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms?

It would be so if he were intelligent and no more. If he could observe the facts of his own existence, investigate the co-existences and successions of phenomena, but all the time remain like the other parts of the visible universe a mere floating unit in the stream of time, incapable of one act of free self-determination or one voluntary moral aspiration after an ideal of absolute goodness. This, however, is far from being the case. Man is not merely an intellectual animal, but he is also a free moral agent, and, as such—and with the infinite future such freedom opens out before him—differs from all the rest of the visible universe by a distinction so profound that none of those which separate other visible beings is comparable with it. The gulf which lies between his being as a whole, and that of the highest brute, marks off vastly more than a mere kingdom of material beings; and man, so considered, differs far more from an elephant or a gorilla than do these from the dust of the earth on which they tread.

Thus, then, in our judgment the author of the '*Descent of Man*' has utterly failed in the only part of his work which is really important. Mr. Darwin's errors are mainly due to a  
radically



radically false metaphysical system in which he seems (like so many other physicists) to have become entangled. Without a sound philosophical basis, however, no satisfactory scientific superstructure can ever be reared; and if Mr. Darwin's failure should lead to an increase of philosophic culture on the part of physicists, we may therein find some consolation for the injurious effects which his work is likely to produce on too many of our half-educated classes. We sincerely trust Mr. Darwin may yet live to furnish us with another work, which, while enriching physical science, shall not, with needless opposition, set at naught the first principles of both philosophy and religion.

ART. III.—1. *Das Reichsgesetzblatt.* Wien.

2. *Oesterreich und die Bürgschaften seines Bestandes.* Von Dr. Adolph Fischhof. Wien, 1870.

3. *Federation oder Realunion.* Von Dr. W. Lustkaudl. Wien, 1870.

4. *Des Oesterreichers Grundrechte und Verfassung.* Wien, 1868.

5. *Oesterreich seit dem Falle Belcredi's.* 'Unsere Zeit.' Vol. V. Nos. 2, 4, 9, 12, 15.

A good deal has been written lately about 'New America' and 'New Russia,' but no one has attempted to give Englishmen anything like a detailed description of New Austria. And yet it would be difficult to point to any country in the course of the world's history which, in the short space of four years, has so completely cast away old traditions and assumed a new political and social character, as this old home of despotism, the last depositary of the traditions of the Holy Roman Empire.

Peace politicians may say that a war always does more harm than good to the nations which engage in it. Perhaps it always does, at any rate, morally speaking, to the victors; but that it does not to the vanquished, Austria stands as a living evidence. Finally excluded from Italy and Germany by the campaign of 1866, she has cast aside her dreams of foreign domination, and has set herself manfully to the task of making a nation out of the various conflicting nationalities over which she presides. It does not require much insight to perceive that as long as she held her position in Germany this fusion was hopeless. The overwhelming preponderance of the German element made any approach to a reciprocity of interests impossible. The Germans always were regarded as sovereigns, the remaining nationalities as subjects; it was for these to command, for those to obey. In like

like manner, it was impossible for the Austrian Government to establish a mutual understanding with a population which felt itself attracted—alike by the ties of race, language, and geographical position—to another political union. Nay more, as long as the occupation of the Italian provinces remained as a blot on the Imperial escutcheon, it was impossible for the Government to command any genuine sympathy from any of its subjects. But with the close of the war with Prussia these two difficulties—the relations with Germany and the relations with Italy—were swept away. From this time forward Austria could appear before the world as a Power binding together for the interests of all, a number of petty nationalities, each of which was too feeble to maintain a separate existence. In short, from the year 1866 Austria had a *raison d'être*, whereas before she had none.

It is proposed in the following remarks, first to describe Austria as she was after Sadowa; secondly, to give an account of the main events which have accomplished her political transformation; thirdly, to describe her as she is, and to glance at the probable future which awaits her.

A short preliminary account of the complicated political machinery obtaining in Austria will be necessary, inasmuch as ignorance on this point would render much of what is to follow unintelligible. Briefly then, the Empire is divided into a number of provinces, and the population of each province into three groups or classes. The first group consists of the great landlords (*Grossgrundbesitzer*), the second of the commercial men belonging to the towns, markets, and trade-guilds, the third of the inhabitants of the country parishes (*Landgemeinde*). Each of these groups has the privilege of electing a certain number of members to the provincial Parliament (*Landtag*). To take a typical instance (for the proportions vary in the different provinces), in Bohemia the great landlords elect 70 members, the towns and markets 87, and the country parishes 79. In addition to this, the archbishop and bishops of each province sit in the Landtag by right of office. The great landlords elect their members, as a rule, *en masse*; the remaining two groups are divided into a number of voting-divisions, each of which has the right of electing a certain definite number of members. Thus the country parishes are grouped together into political circles (*Wahlbezirke*), and each circle elects one member. The competence of the Landtag is two-fold. They are (1) supreme in certain questions of local administration; (2) they elect from their own body members for the Reichsrath, or central Parliament, which meets in Vienna. The method of election is as follows. The three groups or classes are all

all represented by certain fixed numbers. Thus, in Bohemia, the great landlords send 15, the towns 20, and the parishes 19 members to the Reichsrath. But the members of the three groups do not respectively choose their own delegates. The whole Landtag votes in each case, but its election is confined, as the case may be, to one of the groups. This group-system was the invention of Schmerling, who was Premier in 1861, and its object was to give an artificial preponderance to the landlords, whose votes were most easily influenced by Court persuasion. The Reichsrath consists of an Upper and Lower House (*Herren- und Abgeordnetenhaus*). The Upper House contains (1) a number of hereditary peers of different ranks, (2) the Prince-Cardinals and Archbishops of the Empire, (3) a certain number of life-peers, among whom may be found well-known statesmen, lawyers, generals, poets, &c. The Lower House contains 203 members—a certain definite number being elected by the Landtag of each province, Bohemia sending 54, Galicia 38, Moravia 22, Lower Austria 18, &c.

Perhaps no country since the days of the late Roman Empire ever found itself in a more wretched condition than Austria in the winter of 1866. An ecclesiastical despotism had for years crushed all the free thought of the nation: a civil despotism had crushed all its political life, and had now added to its many sins the crowning sin of a crushing military failure. Popular education was by legal sanction in the hands of the priests: there was no Ministerial responsibility: Parliament had lost control even of the public purse; and a heavy deficit threatened national bankruptcy. In addition to these evils the different nationalities, which had hitherto been kept in order by the sword, showed open signs of revolution, and the weak policy of Belcredi's Ministry had neither the strength to control, nor the sagacity to pacify them.

It was under these auspices that Baron Beust, on the 7th of February, 1867, took office under Franz Joseph. His programme may be stated as follows. He saw that the day of centralism and imperial unity was gone past recall, and that the most liberal Constitution in the world would never reconcile the nationalities to their present position, as provinces under the always detested and now despised Empire. But then came the question—Granted that a certain disintegration is inevitable, how far is this disintegration to go? Beust proposed to disarm the opposition of the leading nationality by the gift of an almost complete independence, and, resting on the support thus obtained, to gain time for conciliating the remaining provinces by building up a new system of free government.

It would be out of place to give a detailed account of the well-known

known measure which converted the 'Austrian empire' into the 'Austro-Hungarian monarchy.' It will be necessary, however, to describe the additions made by it to the political machinery. The Hungarian Reichstag was constructed on the same principle as the Austrian Reichsrath. It was to meet in Pesth, as the Reichsrath at Vienna, and was to have its own responsible ministers. From the members of the Reichsrath and Reichstag respectively were to be chosen annually sixty delegates to represent Cisleithanian and sixty to represent Hungarian interests—twenty being taken in each case from the Upper, forty from the Lower House. These two 'Delegations,' whose votes were to be taken, when necessary, collectively, though each Delegation sat in a distinct chamber, owing to the difference of language, formed the Supreme Imperial Assembly, and met alternate years at Vienna and Pesth. They were competent in matters of foreign policy, in military administration, and in Imperial finance. At their head stood three Imperial ministers—the Reichskanzler, who presided at the Foreign Office, and was *ex officio* Prime Minister, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Finance. These three ministers were independent of the Reichsrath and Reichstag, and could only be dismissed by a vote of want of confidence on the part of the Delegations.

The 'Ausgleich' or scheme of federation with Hungary is, no doubt, much open to criticism, both as a whole and in its several parts. It must always be borne in mind that administratively and politically it was a retrogression. At a time in which all other European nations—notably North Germany—were simplifying and unifying their political systems, Austria was found doing the very reverse. It is easy to point out the inconvenience of a state of things which makes an annual transfer of the seat of Government necessary, and forces the Imperial Parliament and Ministry to reside every other year at a distance from the Ambassadors of the foreign Courts. It might be urged that it was foolish to gratify Hungarian vanity by making a second capital, and absurd to have no single chamber where members of each kingdom could debate in common on subjects of Imperial interest. The true answer to these objections is, that the measure of 1867 was constructed to meet a practical difficulty. Its end was not the formation of a symmetrical system of government, but the pacification of Hungary. The Magyars, who with their feudal institutions and commercial backwardness are still semi-barbarians, required the concession of the capital as a sign and symbol of their independence. They refused to admit the constitution of a supreme Imperial assembly, because they foresaw that German would be spoken in such an assembly, and were unwilling  
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to own the superiority of the German to the Magyar tongue. Hence the justification of these and similar irrational clauses of the measure is first their necessity, and secondly their success. Before 1867 Hungary was a discontented province, kept in order by German troops: it is now the most contented and patriotic part of the empire.

The only part of the scheme which is open to really serious objection is the financial part. In this question the Hungarians must be considered as having made an unworthy use of their strong political position. In 1867 the Austrian national debt amounted to 3046 million florins, the yearly interest being 127 millions. To this large interest the Hungarians, who plaintively urged that the virgin credit of the new kingdom must not start with a burden greater than it was able to bear, refused to contribute more than 29½ millions. Throughout the negotiations they persisted in putting the question, not what it was just that Hungary should pay, but what Hungary, with advantage to herself and without injury to her political future, could pay. Through this concession the remaining provinces were burdened with a debt which they were positively unable to meet, and the Hungarians must be held mainly answerable for the disastrous repudiation of 1868, of which they had ingeniously avoided the direct responsibility.

It was further provided that from January, 1868, to December, 1877, the military and other common expenses connected with the Foreign and Finance Department should be defrayed by the two halves of the empire, in very different proportions. Cisleithania was to pay 70, Hungary only 30 per cent. Thus the latter was put in possession of half the power in the Imperial system, with less than a third of the burdens attaching to that power.

Of the defects which have been noticed in the dual system—viz., the double capital, the absence of a single supreme Parliament, and the financial anomaly—it may be observed that the second only is irremediable. As confidence in the Government increases, it may well be hoped that the Hungarians themselves will recognize the inconvenience of a double administrative centre and the uselessness of a financial prerogative, which, inasmuch as it lacks its due counterpart of financial responsibility, could never be practically exercised without leading to discontent, if not to revolution.

From this point the internal history of the two halves of the empire flows in two different channels. Graf Andrassy, the Hungarian Premier, had a comparatively easy task before him. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, the pre-dominance of the Magyars in Hungary was more assured than  
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that of the Germans in Cisleithania. It is true that they numbered only 5,000,000 out of the 16,000,000 inhabitants ; but in these 5,000,000 were included almost all the rank, wealth, and intelligence of the country. Hence they formed in the Reichstag a compact and homogeneous majority, under which the remaining Slovaks and Croatians soon learnt to range themselves. In the second place, Hungary had the great advantage of starting in a certain degree afresh. Her government was not bound by the traditional policy of former Vienna ministries, and by the manœuvre we have noticed it had managed to keep its financial credit unimpaired. In the third place, as those who are acquainted with Hungarian history well know, Parliamentary institutions had for a long time flourished in Hungary. Indeed the Magyars, who among their many virtues can hardly be credited with the virtue of humility, assert that the world is mistaken in ascribing to England the glory of having invented representative government, and claim this glory for themselves. Hence one of the main difficulties with which the Cisleithanian Government had to deal was already solved for Graf Andrassy and his colleagues.

For this reason, it will be the main object of the following pages to describe the birth and growth of political freedom on the Austrian side of the Leitha, the parallel events that took place in Hungary being merely introduced by way of contrast and illustration.

The Reichsrath which met on May 22, 1867, was, in every way one of the most memorable in the history of Austria. Each of the members then assembled must have felt that their country was in the midst of a terrible crisis, and that it depended mainly on their exertions to save that country from ruin. The speech from the throne, after expressing a hope that the scheme of federation with Hungary would be sanctioned by the House, announced the intention of the Government to re-establish ministerial responsibility and to bring the military department once more under the authority of Parliament. The Reichsrath's first fight was with the generals. It will be hardly credited that a colossal scheme for the fortification of Vienna, the cost of which would amount to a million and a half of our money, had been set on foot by the Commander-in-chief without a word of consultation with the representatives of the people. Baron Becke, the new Minister of War, declared openly in the House that he was first made acquainted with the proceedings by the public journals. Austrian Constitutionalism may be said to date from the day that Beust, now feeling he had a Parliament to back him, summarily stopped the works and abolished the College of General-Adjutants,

General-Adjutants, an institution which for many years had defied Parliament and rendered liberal government an impossibility.

The House then proceeded to pass three most important measures. The first related to the 'Octroyirung' (i. e., carrying over the head of Parliament) of laws by the Emperor. It was ordained that, for the future, every octroyirung should be made under the responsibility of the Ministry; 2, that no such measure should have the power of setting aside any fundamental law of the state (*Staatsgrundgesetz*), of imposing any fresh burden on the taxpayers, or alienating public property; 3, that any such measure should become null and void if it were not notified within four weeks after the meeting of the Reichsrath. Thus the sting was utterly taken out of this old instrument of military despotism.

The law relating to ministerial responsibility appears, to an English mind at any rate, a somewhat curious piece of legislation. It was chiefly aimed at preventing the interference of the peers, it being evidently held that the condemnation of a minister in the Lower House could be annulled by the refusal of the Upper House to endorse the vote. It provided for the erection of a permanent tribunal, consisting of twelve members, elected by each House, not from their own midst, but from the ordinary judges and State-lawyers, before which tribunal either House had the power of bringing any member of the Ministry on a distinct charge to be set forth in the indictment. It was further provided that a charge brought against a minister and supported by two-thirds of either House should suffice to suspend the minister *ipso facto* from his office. Thus there was no recognition of the 'solidarity' of the Cabinet, and nothing but a distinct offence was held as sufficient ground for removing a minister from power.\* The depth to which Parliamentary government had sunk is told more expressively by the mere statement of this law than by the most elaborate description.

The third law concerned the freedom of public meeting. It provided that every political club (*verein*) should notify to the magistrate the nature and object of the club, the names and number of its members, as also the place and time at which each of its meetings was to be held. Further, it gave the Government power to break up any society or meeting, the object of which was 'inconsistent with the public safety or the public good.' This last clause was added by request of the Cabinet, which

\* This law is probably borrowed from the American constitution, which secures to the President a certain fixed period of office, while subjecting him to the possibility of impeachment. It is needless to point out that it is properly inconsistent with the English system of Cabinet government.

declared that, without some such powers, it would be impossible to offer the requisite resistance to the feudal-clerical opposition in Bohemia. Within these limits, no obstacles were offered to the formation of political clubs or the holding of public meetings.

So far the proceedings of the Reichsrath had run smoothly enough. But all the true friends of freedom in Austria felt that there still existed one fatal obstacle to all their patriotic endeavours. As long as the Concordat formed part of the law of the land, the priests had it in their power to check the free development of the nation in the very bud, and to talk of freedom was a mere mockery. There were two ways of dissolving the unholy treaty with Rome. Either the Concordat could be directly abrogated and a new set of laws introduced affirming the equality of all religions and sects in the eyes of the State, or a series of half measures might be passed through the Reichsrath, which, by laying down principles inconsistent with the Concordat, would gradually encroach on the ecclesiastical prerogative, and render the former position of the priests untenable. The objection to the first course, which was in every other way preferable, was its impracticability. The Reichsrath could not have commanded a majority for so radical a measure, still less could the nation be expected to endorse it. Hence the proposition of the veteran Mühlfeld was rejected, and the abstract motion of Dr. Herbst, affirming the expediency of new laws to regulate the action of the State on the three subjects of marriage, education, and religion, was carried by a majority of 131—22. So ended this eventful session.

It was well that Parliament had not adjourned before declaring—in principle at any rate—its willingness to grant the people religious freedom; for this act of theirs encouraged an expression of popular feeling during the vacation which greatly strengthened the hands of the ministers. On the 5th of September, a monster meeting of 1500 schoolmasters, from all parts of Austria, was held in Vienna, in which it was resolved, that for the proper attainment of their ends in the cause of education, a complete independence from the authority of the Church was requisite. There is reason to believe that, if the Government had taken the necessary steps, they might have found support from an unexpected quarter, namely, from the lower clergy. It is said that at this time there was not an editor in Vienna whose office was not daily flooded with letters from these poor men, who were bound by the Concordat to a state of the most abject servitude under their superiors. No one, however, but Mühlfeld was found brave enough to propose the liberation of the inferior



priests and the abrogation of the law conferring legal immunity on the bishops.

On the 23rd of September, the Reichsrath commenced its autumn sitting, and at once proceeded to appoint a Committee to draw up measures for the reconstitution of the laws affecting marriage and education. The new Marriage Law provided, 1, that the jurisdiction in all questions affecting marriage should be transferred from the priestly to the ordinary civil tribunals; 2, that if a priest refused to perform the rite of marriage (as, *e.g.*, when man and wife were of two different religions), the civil magistrate, after acquainting himself with the refusal of the priest, should himself sanction and register the union of the couple. The new School Law gave over the management of all religious teaching to the Church or religious society in question, but ordained that all other subjects taught in the schools should be made entirely independent of their influence: 2, it provided that all schools maintained by the State, the provincial, or municipal authorities, should be open to all citizens without distinction of religion; 3, that the office of schoolmaster should be open to any candidate who had proved his competence in an examination to be appointed by the State; 4, that all funds held by the State for the purposes of education, except where a reservation had been made by the testator, should be applied to their end without prejudice in favour of any religious sect; 5, that school-boards should be appointed in every district (*Bezirke*) and parish for the carrying-out of the above regulations, and that the organization of these boards was to be left to the Landtage. This last unfortunate clause did much to neutralize the effects of the whole law, by opening a door to clerical opposition in the provincial assemblies. Through its baneful operation much of the measure has, up to the present time, remained a dead letter.

The House then undertook the task of drawing up a number of fundamental State-laws (*Staatsgrundgesetze*), which were to constitute the Magna Charta of the Austrian citizen. These laws are four in number, and the first is divided into twenty articles. It would be beyond the scope of this essay to give the details of these laws. But a glance may be cast at the most important of them, and the main alterations effected by them in the constitution.

Law I. Article 2 declares 'All citizens are equal in the eyes of the law.' This infringes Article 14 of the Concordat, which gives immunity to the bishops, and provides that a priest condemned by a court of law shall undergo his punishment in a house of ecclesiastical discipline. Article 3 declares 'All public offices are open to all citizens.' Before the passing of this law a  
non-Catholic

non-Catholic could not be appointed to any of the regular University chairs, and a Jew was ineligible to the bench of judges. Article 4 gives every tax-paying citizen in a given parish the right of vote in the municipal elections. Hitherto the 'Gemeindengenossen' *i.e.*, temporary inhabitants, were excluded from voting. It further declares that the freedom of migration is only restricted by the duty of service in the army. This provision was to prevent wholesale migrations from the country in the case of war being proclaimed. Article 5 asserts the competency of Parliament to restrict, in the interest of the public weal, the right of inheritance, and to dispose of inherited property as it shall think fit. This is directed against Article 29 of the Concordat, which provides that the property of the Church is its own for ever, and cannot be alienated without consent of the Pope. Article 8—the Austrian Habeas Corpus—declares the freedom of every citizen's person. A citizen, *viz.*, can only be properly apprehended after a magisterial sentence. If confined under suspicion for more than forty-eight hours, the official responsible for the confinement is liable to a fine or imprisonment. Article 9 declares the freedom of every citizen in his own house. A private house can only be searched on the authority of a magisterial\* warrant. Article 10 provides that no private letter may be opened without express sanction of a magistrate or in case of war. Article 11 gives to every recognized corporation or society the right of petition. This restriction of the right of petition is justified on the plea that, without it, an insignificant minority might represent its views as those of the community in a given parish or province. Article 12 guarantees the freedom of public meeting under the restrictions of the law passed November, 1867: Article 13 the freedom of the press. The text of this article runs as follows:—'Every citizen has the right to express freely his opinions in word or writing within the limits laid down by law. The Press may not be subjected to censorship, nor have its rights restricted by any system of concessions.' This requires some explanation. By 'censorship' is meant condemnation of a book or journal before it has been published. It is still open to the magistrate to 'confiscate' any book, or any number of a newspaper which contains false news or unconstitutional articles. The difference is that, before the law, a writer could be condemned unheard; now, 'confiscation' must be based on a distinct charge, from which there may be a subsequent appeal. Article 16 declares the right of any religious society, not recognized by law,

\* The word magisterial is used in preference to judicial as a translation for 'richterlich.' But it must be remembered that magistrates in the English sense do not exist in Austria. These 'Richter' are rather under-judges.

to hold meetings in a private house: Article 17 the freedom of science and education from religious trammels. Article 19—the Magna Charta of the minor nationalities—declares, ‘All nationalities under the dominion of the State have equal rights. Each different race has the right to preserve its own nationality and language. The State recognizes all languages spoken in a given province as equal in the public schools, the public offices, and public life generally. Where more than one language is spoken the authorities are to provide that each citizen receives the requisite State assistance for education in his own tongue, without being forced to learn any other.’

The remaining three State ground-laws are of less importance. The second was aimed at the ecclesiastical tribunals established by the Concordat. It ordained that all jurisdiction should be administered for the future in the name of the Kaiser by officers appointed directly by him. The third provided that every officer of the State should swear obedience on entering office to the State laws in question. The fourth instituted a supreme judicial court, ‘Reichsgericht,’ which was to be a final court of appeal in all questions arising (1) between the judicial and executive bodies; (2) between the Landtage and the central executive; (3) between two Landtage of separate provinces; (4) between Landtag and Reichsrath.

Finally a law, ‘Reichsgesetz,’ was passed defining the constitution and competence of the various legislative bodies. The delegations were to be competent in all questions affecting the relations of the empire with foreign countries, whether diplomatic or commercial. Secondly, they were to have the direction of the imperial military system. Thirdly, they were to have the control of all the finances requisite for these purposes. The Cisleithanian Delegation was to be constituted after the fashion of a federal assembly. That is to say, the Reichsrath was not to choose directly the sixty best men it could nominate for the purpose; but each nationality represented was to elect a given number of members. Thus the deputation of the Bohemian Landtag was to choose ten delegates, that of the Moravian seven, and so on.

The Reichsrath reserved to itself the following powers: (1) of voting the men required for the army (*Recrutenbewilligungsrecht*); (2) of voting the supplies for the army and foreign office; (3) the right of examining and accepting diplomatic or commercial treaties signed by the authority of the delegates; (4) the regulation of the schools, universities, the press, public meetings, the mint, sanitary laws, police-courts, courts of justice, postal, telegraphic, and railway systems, and a few other subjects

subjects of less importance. Everything else was left to the Landtage.

A short criticism of this remarkable law will not be thought out of place. One is at first inclined to characterize the whole scheme as an ingenious arrangement for making government impossible. The system sanctions the existence of twenty-one\* Parliaments; namely, eighteen Landtage, a Reichsrath, and the two Delegations, which, by a slight stretch of the imagination, may, perhaps, be regarded as one body. Each of these Parliaments has a sphere of its own, in which it is completely independent of the rest. Nay, more; each is provided with the means of most effectually paralysing the action of the other. Let us take a few instances. The delegations may declare so many men necessary for the defence of the country, and so much money requisite for their maintenance. The Reichsrath may refuse to grant the men or the supplies, or both. Again, the Reichsrath may make general arrangements for the management of the schools, the Landtage may refuse to carry them out. Again, the Landtage may make regulations of their own, the Reichsrath may refuse to give them the money to bring them into effect. The only Parliament which represents the unity of the State has not the power of voting a man or a kreuzer; the only ministers which represent the unity of the State (*viz.*, the three Reichsminister) are not responsible to the body which votes the supplies. The wonder is not that such a system should fail to work smoothly, but that it should succeed in working at all.

But there is another side to the picture. A constitution is not built in a day, least of all in a State composed as Austria is composed. It must not be forgotten that the December constitution, as it is called, was Austria's first honest attempt to combine State-unity with popular freedom. The great Kaiser Joseph II., had spent a lifetime in striving to weld together the heterogeneous elements of the empire by mechanical means, but was forced on his death-bed to confess that his labours had been in vain. After the popular movements of 1848 the Vienna statesman, Bach, took in hand the same task. With an army of soldiers and officials he strove to convert Austria into a centralized State after the pattern of modern France, but two days—the days of Magenta and Solferino—undid the painful work which it had taken ten years to build up. What Bach had attempted to attain by absolutism, Schmerling tried to accomplish by a pretended appeal to the popular voice. This states-

\* This is exclusive of the three parliaments of the other half of the empire; the Reichstag and the Hungarian and Croatian Landtage.

man knew that the provinces were inveterately opposed to all schemes of centralization, and that no direct appeal to the country could give him a parliamentary majority pledged to any such scheme. He therefore contrived, by means of his famous system of groups, to obtain a fictitious parliamentary majority, while, by a strict censorship of the press and prohibition of public meeting, he silenced all extra-parliamentary complaints. The refusal of the Hungarians and Croats to sit in a House thus constituted at last brought this Rump Parliament into contempt, and, after a reign of four years, the February constitution came to an untimely end. Then followed the so-called *Sistirungs-period*,\* when the policy of centralization was given up without anything being put in its place, a policy which succeeded in irritating all parties and satisfying none, presided over by a man whose weak concessions gave more annoyance than the hostile measures of his predecessors. Finally, in the spring of 1867, Beust came into power, and the new constitution which has been described in the above sketch was brought into existence. This constitution, while retaining the group-system of voting, throws away the other crutches on which the February constitution had rested. It neither bids for the corrupt support of the Church, nor puts an undue pressure on the liberty of the press and of public meeting. It is centralizing in spirit without being despotic in origin.

Before criticizing it, then, too harshly, we must consider the immense difficulty of the problem it attempts to solve. Austria is composed of a number of small nations, several of which, as *e.g.*, Bohemia and Hungary, have separate histories of their own, and none of which, if we except the two central counties of Austria proper, are bound to the rest by any ties but those of common interest. No bonds of blood, of language, or of literature, bind the German to the Czech or Slovenian. The several provinces are inspired by a warm provincial patriotism, but a common Austrian patriotism there is none. In addition to these the cause of centralization is inextricably bound up in the minds of the whole non-German population with the cause of despotism. The vast majority know of no freedom but local freedom, and view even a constitutional Reichsrath as an instrument for the suppression of their local rights. This is enough to show the delicacy of the task which the statesmen of 1867 took in hand. How far they succeeded will be seen from the succeeding narrative. But before entering on the history of

\* *I.*, the period when the February constitution, without being abrogated, was allowed to fall into abeyance.

the great fight between the centralists and the autonomists, which commenced in the autumn of 1868, and the end of which is not yet, it will be well to conduct the campaign with the clerical party to its close.

In the spring of 1868 the Reichsrath again met, and the Upper House took in hand the marriage and education laws, which had passed the Lower House in the preceding session. The public took the greatest interest in the debate, as the fate of the Concordat was supposed to depend on the acceptance or rejection of these laws. Not only the galleries and the stairs, but the streets leading to the House, were filled with an excited crowd, and each member who left the chamber was breathlessly questioned by the people outside 'wie unsere Sachen oben stehen?' The following interesting account of this famous three days' debate is extracted from the German review 'Unsere Zeit,' May number, 1869:—

'The Austrian Herrenhaus has every reason to look back on those three days with pride. It exhibited such a high degree not only of statesmanlike capacity but of speaking power, that the feudal-clerical Graf Thun, instead of winning the laurels he expected, received humiliations without number. On the one side were men, who after bending long years under the clerical yoke, were at last able to stand boldly forth before their countrymen and utter the thoughts with which their "hearts had long been hot within them." On the other side were men, who after being supported for years by the Imperial bayonets and the Imperial police, were now left to fight their own battles—to maintain by argument what had before been maintained for them by force. The utter hollowness of the episcopal phrases, contrasted with the complacency with which they were uttered, the triumphant emphasis with which Prince-Cardinal Schwarzenberg, after a faltering speech "full of vain words signifying nothing," descended the tribune exclaiming "Genirt mich gar nicht, wenn die Herren lachen" (the noble lords' laughter won't discompose me) might have seemed fit subject for a comedy, if one could have forgotten the tragedy to which it formed the sequel. . . .

'The division was a drama in itself. It was the afternoon of Saturday, the 21st of March. As each name was called out, there was a breathless silence in the House, and storms of applause arose if the answerer gave his vote against the Concordat, the result being instantly passed from mouth to mouth till it reached the street, where it was received with fresh hurrahs. At last the numbers were known. The motion for adjournment was lost by 65 to 34, and the fate of the Concordat could be said to be sealed. Once more Austria's good genius had prevailed.'

The bishops were so disgusted at the results of this division that they refused to appear again during the debates of the session.

session. Hence the marriage law, as well as the school law, were passed by large majorities.

Encouraged by this success the Lower House set to work at the third bill indicated in Herbst's programme, which was to decree the equality of all religions in the eyes of the law '*inter-confessionelles Gesetz*.' This bill provided that, in the case of children whose parents had died without expressing their wishes on the subject, the sons should be brought up in the father's, the daughters in the mother's religion. At the age of fourteen, however, the child was to be allowed to choose for itself. Infidelity was no longer to incapacitate a citizen for inheritance: the preaching of infidel, *i. e.*, unchristian, doctrines no longer to constitute a misdemeanour. No citizen was to be compelled to contribute to the services, or to send his child to the schools, of a church to which he did not belong. No priest was to be able to deny the right of burial to a member of another religious sect in cases where either the family claiming the right had a private vault, or where the churchyard was the only one in the parish. This important law, the last clause of which especially put an end to a series of scandals which had for a long time been a disgrace to the country, was passed without difficulty by both Houses.

In the meantime the bishops had not been idle. Their first attempt was to bring a petition against the three bills to the Kaiser over the heads of the Ministry. Franz Joseph treated this attempt with becoming dignity, by referring the petitioners to his 'constitutional advisers.' Their next resort was, as might have been expected, to Rome. The Pope determined to make use of all his spiritual weapons, and, on the 22nd of June, launched a characteristic allocution at the heads of the Austrian rebels. In this document the three laws in question were denounced as '*destructive, abominable, and damnable*.' '*Therefore*,' so runs the allocution, '*on the strength of our Apostolic authority, we anathematize these laws, in particular all such clauses as are directed by the Austrian Government against the rights of the Church: and we declare the laws by virtue of this same authority to be null and void*.' Popes have often taken foolish and impolitic steps, but it remained for Pope Pius IX. openly to urge the subjects of a Catholic kingdom in the nineteenth century to rebellion against their Government. The allocution proved as unsuccessful as it was gross. It is true that the bishops adhered faithfully to the instructions of their chief. Riccabona of Trient declared that any one who submitted to the May laws was a despiser of the Son of God. Schwarzenberg directed his clergy, in a pastoral letter to the four Bohemian

*Bohemian bishops, to refuse confession and absolution to any couple joined by a civil marriage. But the mass of the laity rose up in indignation against the proceedings of the Pope and his advisers. Addresses poured in from every large town in the empire denouncing the Romish pretensions, and expressing sympathy with the Government. In fact the priests defeated their own ends by the extravagance of their measures, and hastened to bring about a crisis which a conciliatory policy might have indefinitely delayed. The final act which closed the campaign between Church and State is known to every one. In July, 1870, Graf Beust abrogated the Concordat.*

It is now proposed to pass from the field of clerical agitation to a more important and interesting question. The contest between the Pope and Count Beust could have had but one end. The Pope's pretensions were an anachronism, and the struggle only interests us as illustrating one of the main intellectual movements which characterize the age in which we live. It is otherwise with the question at issue between the federalists and the centralists. It is not too much to say that of all the countries on the face of the earth, Austria is the one which at the present moment offers most to the study of the political philosopher. The statesmen now engaged in reconstructing her have few, if any, precedents to fall back on. If they succeed in their enterprise, they will have solved the most difficult problem of practical politics of which the present century has been a witness.

In order to make good this statement a few statistics will be necessary. Cisleithanian Austria contains a population of 19 millions, of which 6 millions are Germans, while the remaining 11 millions belong to the Slavonian race. In eight of the Austrian provinces, viz., in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Krain, Istria, Gorz, Triest, and Dalmatia, the Slaves constitute the large majority of the population. If they were represented in Parliament according to their numbers, 117 of the 203 members of the Reichsrath would be Slaves, the remaining minority of 86 representing the other nationalities. How different the facts of the case are, any one who knows anything of Austrian politics can testify. The question then naturally arises, how is it that these Slaves possess so little political significance? The inquiry admits of many answers. The cause of their political insignificance is to be traced to a peculiar combination of historical, geographical, ethnological, religious, and social circumstances. In the first place they have stood almost uniformly in respect of the Italians in Istria and Triest, and in respect of the Germans elsewhere in Austria, in the relation of conquered to conquerors. In the second place, the Slaves are scattered over the face of the

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the empire, the Czechs in the north, the Poles in the east, the Slovenians in the south, and have thus lost the opportunity of political contact. In the third place, they do not all speak the same language nor profess the same religion, the Ruthenians of Galicia *e.g.*, belonging to the Eastern Church. Lastly, they compose for the most part the peasantry of the country, and possess, with the exception of the Poles, no influential middle class and no national nobility.

Of the Austrian Slaves, about 5,000,000 are Czechs, 2,320,000 Poles, 3,000,000 Ruthenians, 1,200,000 Slovenians. To be added to these are 600,000 Italians, and a small number of Rumanians in the Bukowina. All these stocks have a distinct individuality of their own, and many of them, as *e.g.*, the Poles and Czechs, have a past history to look back on.

The Poles are the people which have identified themselves least with the empire to which they belong. The one thought of the Polish patriot is the restoration of his country to its lost rights. At the same time, they have been treated, at least of late years, with great consideration by the Government, and have never carried their opposition to any extreme length. The tie which binds them to Austria is their hatred of Russia. They know that the disintegration of Austria would probably involve their annexation to the hated Russian, and hence their support can be reckoned on in the most perilous questions of foreign politics. The late President of the Cisleithanian Ministry, Graf Potocki, is a Pole; the Polish members are treated very much like the Irish members in our Commons, and are left to decide questions of purely Polish policy for themselves; many politicians hope by a coalition between the Germans and Poles to overbear the opposition of the remaining Slaves.

The Czechs, like the Poles, have a certain history of their own. The student of history will remember that Bohemia was originally a settlement of the Marcomanni, a German tribe who migrated there in the 5th century. This Teutonic stock was, however, overflowed towards the close of the same century by a new migration of Slavish tribes, who displaced the original inhabitants in very much the same way as the Saxons displaced the Britons in our own island. The heads of these tribes formed the beginning of the Czechish nobility. The semi-barbarous Slaves who thus obtained a footing in the country were Christianized and civilized by a new influx of German merchants and German clergy. In process of time the prosperity of these settlers and the favour shown to them by the Kings of Bohemia drew down on them the envy of the Czechs, and in the 16th century began that terrible persecution, which, assuming the form of  
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a religious war between Hussites and Catholics, in reality was a contest between the two races for the supremacy in Bohemia. The Hussites prevailed, and the Czechs were for a long time dominant. Then came the still more terrible days when the sword of the German Kaiser brought retribution for the blood shed by the Hussites, and reinstated Germanism and Catholicism in their ancient place. Since those times until a comparatively late date the Czechs had much right to consider themselves an oppressed race. The policy of persecution, as is almost always the case, gave fresh life and energy to the nationality which it was its purpose to destroy. Long the Czechs bore their sorrows in secret. At last the revolutionary year of 1848 seemed to offer them fresh hopes of liberation from the yoke under which they chafed. Their ambition was to come forward as the leaders of the Austrian Slaves, and to win for themselves, the Slovenians and Croats, the place in the Austrian constitution to which their numbers entitled them. But the chilling years of Bachian despotism followed, and once more they relapsed, if not into apathy, at least into sullen silence. Then the February constitution once more raised their hopes. In spite of Schmerling's artificial group-system, which procured him a German majority from Bohemia and Moravia, the Czechs took their places in the Reichsrath, hoping, with the help of the Hungarians and Croats, to be able to offer a successful resistance to the Germans. But the Hungarians and Croats, as we have seen, refused to appear, and the Czechs, finding themselves in a hopeless minority, left the Reichsrath, never since then to enter it again. Again the 'Sistirungspolitik' of Belcredi raised their hopes. They had secured a majority in the Bohemian and Moravian Landtag, and intended in the extraordinary Parliament to be convoked under that Minister's auspices to enter the campaign against centralism and dualism, reckoning on the support of the Hungarians in their resistance to the centralists, and on the support of the Germans in their resistance to the dualists. Once more they were doomed to be disappointed. Count Beust came into power, and, after passing the 'Ausgleich' with Hungary, with the help of a German majority raised by an unsparing use of Court influence and the Schmerlingian groups, reduced them again to an impotent minority. They saw the German party once more victors over the whole line, and once more retreated to their old position of dogged resistance. It was in vain that the December constitution offered them freedom. They refused to eat of the feast which they had had no hand in preparing. It is not our intention to give a detailed account of the modes in which their resistance asserted itself, in the Landtag, in  
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the school, in the press, in the public meeting; it has been deemed sufficient to describe the constitution which was offered them, to attest the discontent with which it was met, and to trace the causes of this discontent.

One thing must be carefully borne in mind by anyone who is really anxious to understand the character of this long quarrel. It does not follow that, because the Germans have generally identified themselves with the party of intellectual and religious progress, this particular political principle which they advocate is a more liberal one than that of their opponents. The love of domination is apt to obscure the judgment of the most impartial minds, and the German race, wise and peaceable as it for the most part is, shares the common failing. A foreigner in Austria is peculiarly apt to be misled in their respect. Almost all the literature that he reads is German, and bears the stamp of the German ideas. He finds the federalists allied with the clerical and reactionary party, he listens to the quaint claims which they prefer on the grounds of the 'historical' rights of the 'kingdom' of Bohemia and the 'indefeasible privileges' of the Landtage, he naturally compares the provinces of Austria to the counties, the Landtage to the Municipal Assemblies, of his own country, and decides that the Reichsrath is perfectly right in disallowing such preposterous claims. He is apt to forget that though unity of language and political institutions is an undoubted advantage, the forcible spread of this unity is as undoubted an evil: that freedom is one thing, the forcible propagation even of the freest ideas another. He must strip such phrases as the 'Mission of Teutonism,' the 'superiority of Western civilization,' of their vague surroundings, and lay bare to view the unlovely realities—the race-domination and race-hatred—which they serve to disguise. Still more must he be on his guard against such phrases, when under the form of a spurious Darwinism, they attempt to assume a philosophical garb. No more flagrant contravention of Nature's principle of selection can be imagined, than a system of persecution, which instead of gradually substituting higher for lower forms of life, kindles in the decaying forms an artificial vigour, and so counteracts the process which it is its aim to further. The proportion of the Czechs to the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, says Von Helfert, is actually greater now, after all the efforts of successive Kaisers and Kanzlers, than it was a century ago.

Again it is important not to be misled by those main stumbling-blocks to the formation of an impartial judgment—political analogies. To an Englishman the Austrian-German will reply

We repress the Czechs on the same principle that you repress the  
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the Fenians ; holding that their wishes cannot be gratified without danger to the general well-being of the empire.' To the North-German he will say 'The possession of a single administrative and legislative system is as much an advantage for Austria as it is for North-Germany : if you advocate the suppression of your petty dukedoms and principedoms, how can you consistently condemn the abrogation of provincial independence in Austria ?' The answer that the federalist might make to these and similar arguments lies on the surface. Unity of administration is only so far good as there exists a unity in the material administered. There can be no universal rule laid down in this question. From certain points of view it would no doubt be an advantage for France and Germany to be governed from a single centre ; but there are other points of view from which it would be an unquestionable evil. The question to be considered is, whether there exists in the various nationalities of which Austria is composed a sufficient unity of political purpose to justify the maintenance of a central administration. Apart from this argument, there are many who uphold federalism as the means to a more complete and representative centralism ; who consider the establishment of a federal system as the only practical method for ridding the Government of the traditions of German supremacy. A central system, say they, should be the result of the voluntary cohesion of the political units ; the movement which produces it should come from the extremities and not from the centre itself. But under the present régime a movement of this sort is impossible. Give the provinces autonomy and it will not be long before they recognize the advantages of unity.

Turning now from the general question at issue between the two parties, let us ask what are the practical claims put forward by the Austrian Slaves and their chief spokesmen the Czechs ? They ask first of all for the abolition of the Schmerlingian group-system, the natural and almost necessary result of which would be the election of a Slavish majority to the Reichsrath, and the establishment by this majority of a federal constitution—a constitution indeed which in such an event the Germans would be the first to demand. Then comes the main difficulty. The Germans urge with much force that the Landtage dominated by a Slavish majority would in all probability make a tyrannical use of their new power, and treat the Germans very much worse than the Germans had treated them. Dr. Fischhof proposes to obviate this difficulty in the following manner. Either, he says, the Landtag might be divided into two different chambers for the two prevailing nationalities, and each chamber be given in certain questions a power of vetoing the resolutions of the other :

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or, the representatives of the two nationalities might debate in common, but vote in separate curies, the sanction of each cury being necessary for the carrying of certain laws. He proposes to restrict the right of separate voting to questions connected with education and language.

The 'tyranny of the majority' in the Reichsrath would be obviated according to his plan still more simply. He would turn the Upper House into a Senate on the American principle. Each province would here have an equal voice. The Lower House would then be no longer chosen indirectly, through the Landtag, but directly by the people themselves, while each Landtag would send an equal number of members to the Upper House. As it happens, in eight of the seventeen provinces of Cisleithania there is a majority of Germans, so that the preponderance of the Slaves in the Lower House would be checked by the almost equal balance of power in the Upper House. The two Houses would thus in De Tocqueville's words respectively represent the principles of population and federation.

It is not very probable that any so radical scheme will be adopted for the present by the Austrian Parliament. And yet the existing state of things is perilous in the extreme, and evidently calls for some heroic remedy. The centralist Ministry, which took office after the passing of the 'Ausgleich' with Hungary, succumbed in the winter of 1869 to the opposition of the Czechs and the Poles. Though commanding a majority in the Reichsrath, they represented the minority of the nation, and their government was an anomaly. Graf Potocki, the Pole, was then appointed Minister-President. His intention was to carry a gradual scheme of federation, beginning with Galicia. But he failed to conciliate the Czechs, who showed no wish to help the Poles to a liberty which they were not sure of securing for themselves afterwards. Hence the Government was left in a hopeless minority, for the German party, with a culpable want of patriotism, refused to support Potocki, and passed in the autumn of 1870 a vote of want of confidence against the Ministry. The Kaiser and Count Beust were involved in an apparently inextricable dilemma. Government by the majority, and government by the minority of the Reichsrath, had both been tried in the balances, and been found wanting. There ensued an interregnum of eight weeks. At last the list of new ministers, which had been kept completely secret till the morning of publication, was published in the 'Wiener Zeitung.' The list contained the names of a number of hitherto unknown men. Not a single member of the new government had ever sat in the Reichsrath or the Landtag, and two of them were born Czechs.

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The scheme was ingeniously planned to meet the two main difficulties of the situation—the party hostility of the centralists, and the opposition of the Czechs. But the German party, though incapable of governing themselves, seem determined to allow no one else to govern but themselves. The measure of Count Hohenwart, the Minister-President, which proposed to confer a modified liberty of initiative on the Landtage, has lately been rejected in a full house, and matters rest as they were.

What is the remedy for these things? Government with the present Reichsrath is evidently impossible. To an outside observer, there appears to be but one straightforward policy which would cut the knot. Let the Kaiser pass a decree abolishing the group-method of voting, dissolve the Reichsrath, and trust to the good sense and patriotism of the electors. The result of this would probably be the return to Parliament of an autonomist majority, which would help the Government to carry a number of measures for the conciliation of the Slavish populations. The latter have at present, in addition to their parliamentary grievances, several grounds of discontent. They complain, for instance, that the clause of the first State ground-law, enacting the equality of all nationalities and languages in the eyes of the law, is a mere dead letter. Unlike the remaining clauses of the law, it pronounced nothing but the abstract principle, and has not been followed up by the definite regulations necessary to make it effective. Hence they urge that the Reichsrath was only half-sincere in inserting it. They ask that the State should come forward and encourage the foundation of universities and high-schools, where the Czechish, Slovenian, Polish, Servian, and Rumanian tongues may be scientifically studied. At the same time, they ask that the judges and other State officials should make use in all public transactions of the language spoken by the majority of the population. A nation, says Dr. Fischhof, can only be cultivated and civilized through the medium of its own tongue. If you wish to win over the Slaves to German culture, you will defeat your own ends by forcing on them the use of a foreign idiom. Prepare the soil first in the only way in which it can be rightly prepared, and it will welcome and assimilate for itself the riches of German science and literature. These require no force to recommend them to the world; the employment of force implies a doubt of their intrinsic value.

But the Germans are opposed to these changes, and the Kaiser is naturally unwilling to alienate the sympathies of the race which forms, after all, the backbone of the empire. At the present moment especially, the victories of their Northern brothers,

brothers, and the prestige which has gathered round the German name, makes them less than ever inclined to bend the neck to the whims of their semi-barbarous fellow-subjects. Austrian statesmen see only too plainly that the link which binds the German population to the monarchy is but a slight one, and will not bear any excessive strain. It is worth while to consider what are the chances, and what would be the results, of an annexation of the German provinces by the newly founded empire. At present the relations existing between the two courts are the most amicable, and it seems improbable that Prince Bismarck is meditating any aggressive move. The feeling, too, of the German inhabitants of Vienna and the principal towns is on the whole distinctly averse to the transference of allegiance from Kaiser Franz Joseph to Kaiser Wilhelm. They have tasted the sweets of liberty, and feel little attraction to the iron system of Berlin. On the other hand, it is unquestionable that the dominant party in Germany look forward with a sort of hungry impatience to the time when the black, red, and white flag shall be planted on the Hofburg of Vienna. It is the fashion among these politicians to talk of Austria as a hopelessly demoralized country, which nothing less than the rigid rule of Prussia could restore to healthy life. Indeed, Berlin and Vienna are complete contrasts: it is no wonder that they should fail to understand one another. On the one side we see civil absorbed in military life, a feudal aristocracy, an almost Puritanic rigidity of manners; on the other side a sociable bourgeoisie, genial manners, a free and almost licentious press. It may be presumed that the time has not yet come for the incorporation of the old Kaiser-city in the empire of the North. Such an incorporation would be really harmful to the cause of European civilization. The Germans of Bohemia and the two Austrias act as a sort of political rallying-point for the inchoate civilizations which enclose them. It would be a pity if they abandoned this quasi-colonial task imposed on them. Without them the Czechs, Slovenians, Ruthenians, &c., would be incapable of holding together, and would fall a prey sooner or later to the clutches of Russia. But with their help Austria may look forward to a glorious future. The Christian populations lying to the south-east of Hungary are utterly incapable of governing themselves, and the task of their political reconstruction could be entrusted most properly to Austria. But before any such schemes can become possible, she must set her own house in order. To this end a certain amount of self-sacrifice is required on the part of the Germans, and a cheerful co-operation on the part of the remaining nationalities. The main home difficulties

difficulties which threaten the monarchy have been already described. The dangers which threaten it from without are merely, as it were, the mirror and counterpart of those which threaten it from within. Russia is only so far dangerous, as she can serve as the rallying-point for the discontent of the Austrian Slaves. The aim of the Austrian statesman should be to make the old empire a home where the mixed nationalities of central Europe may enjoy peace, prosperity, and freedom. Such a policy will be the surest safeguard against the intrigues of the Pan-slavists and Orthodoxists of Moscow. It has been shown that patriotism of the ordinary kind—the patriotism which rests on communities of blood, literature, and national history—cannot be expected in Austria. The time has gone by when patriotism could be based on the pride of a common army, and fomented by continuous acts of successful military aggression. What remaining idea is there that may serve as an element of cohesion to the Austrian peoples? The idea of common rights and a common freedom, and the knowledge that these rights and this freedom can only be secured against the attacks of foreign absolutism by the union which is strength, and the subservience of a multiplicity of wills to a common object, which is unity.

ART. IV.—*The whole Works of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore: with a Life of the Author, and a critical examination of his Writings.* By the Right Rev. Reginald Heber, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Charles Page Eden, M.A., and the Rev. Alexander Taylor, M.A. In 10 volumes. London, 1856.

2. *Bishop Jeremy Taylor, his Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors. A Biography.* By the Rev. Robert Aris Willmott, Incumbent of Bear Wood, Berks. Second Edition. London, 1848.

THE great glory of the English pulpit is, by common consent, Jeremy Taylor; and he has, we think, fairly earned his supremacy. He is much the most distinguished of those who, in the early part of the seventeenth century, turned in their sermons from the discussion of abstract points of theology to the earnest recommendation of those points of Christian life and character which are known and loved of all men; no one of his time joined in an equal degree the graver studies of morality and theology with an eager love of polite letters, not only in



classic form, but in the then comparatively new literatures of Italy and France; the fluent sweetness of his style is, in its way, unsurpassed, and this honied eloquence does but reflect the gentleness of a temper which passed unsoured, if not unruffled, through the terrible strife of the Civil War and the harshness of Puritan rule.

Jeremy Taylor was born at Cambridge, and baptized in Trinity Church in that town on the 15th of August, 1613. Of the date of his birth there is no certain evidence. It has generally been assumed that he was baptized in infancy, but if we suppose that he was two years old at the time of his baptism we obtain a date which harmonises better with the indications afforded by his later life; for when he was entered at Caius College in August, 1626, he was described as having completed his fifteenth year; and further, if we suppose him to have been born in 1611, he would be nearly of the canonical age at the date when he is said to have been ordained, instead of being under twenty, an age at which holy orders have very rarely been conferred. He was the son of a barber in the town, probably a respectable tradesman, as we find him churchwarden of his parish in 1621; and there is no difficulty in supposing that, in those days of love-locks and daintily trimmed beards, one of that occupation would occupy as high a position among the other tradesmen of the town as his successors do now. He is said to have been descended from the famous Dr. Rowland Taylor, who 'left his blood' at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, for the defence of the Protestant faith. The young Jeremy was one of the earliest alumni of the Perse Grammar School in Cambridge, which was founded in 1615, and he became a sizar at Caius College in 1626. John Milton had taken up his abode in Christ's College only one year before. The two poets—for we must not refuse to Taylor the name of poet—were, no doubt, to use Milton's vigorous expression, 'deluded with ragged notions and brabblements, and dragged to an asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles;' that is, they had to pass through the tedious forms of scholastic logic which were still in vogue in the schools; but we may well believe that the pliant intellect of Taylor submitted to this training with far greater ease and readiness than Milton's fiery self-will; in fact, his works show that his mind had great affinity with such intellects as Aquinas and Scotus, though he also traversed fields foreign to them. 'Wragglers' and 'senior optimes' as yet were not, and we have no record of the student's success in the schools, but it is hardly doubtful that a mind so fertile in arguments and objections would be a most formidable adversary in the wit-combats  
of

of those days. He took his bachelor's degree in 1630, and, as his friend Rust tells us, 'as soon as he was graduate he was chosen fellow.' His fellowship was probably on the Perse foundation, and of small value. Soon after taking his M.A. degree, which he did in the usual course in 1634,\* he was ordained, being then, if he was born in 1611, twenty-three years of age. From the time of his ordination his life was one of frequent change and no little trouble. The patronage of Archbishop Laud procured him a fellowship at All Souls', which he enjoyed but a couple of years; then we find him for a few years Vicar of Uppingham, then ejected, and following the royal army; and at last, about 1644, settled in a Welsh village on the banks of the Towy, in Carmarthenshire, where he supported himself by keeping a school. In these years he had been himself taken prisoner; sickness and death had been busy in his family; he had lost his wife and a son, and was married again to Joanna Bridges, said to have been a natural daughter of Charles I.† For some years he led a life of poverty and seclusion; yet, if he was poor and in trouble, he was not friendless: he was constantly befriended by Lord Carbery and his family, whose beautiful seat, Golden Grove, was hard by the village where he dwelt. And he dwelt there, we believe, contentedly: if he had fallen into the hands of 'publicans and sequestrators,' he had still a loving wife and many friends to pity him, and some to relieve him; he had still his merry countenance, his cheerful spirit, and his good conscience; he could walk in his neighbour's pleasant fields and see the variety of natural beauties; and if, with all this, he chose to 'sit down upon his handful of thorns,' he was fit to bear 'Nero's company in his funeral sorrow for the loss of one of Poppæ's hairs, or help to mourn for Lesbia's sparrow.'‡ In truth, his situation contrasted favourably with that of many of the royalists who were driven from house and home, and he repeatedly expresses his gratitude to Lord Carbery and his amiable wife for their patronage and protection.

It was in his Welsh retreat that the genius of Taylor was matured: there he wrote the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' the 'Holy Living' and 'Holy Dying,' the 'Great Exemplar,' or Life of Christ, and many of those great sermons with which his name is always associated. If these latter were de-

\* 'Holy Dying,' ch. iii. sec. 4.

† On the single authority of the MS. of Mr. Jones, a descendant of Taylor's whose papers were used by Heber; see 'Life,' p. xxxv. f.

‡ 'Holy Living,' ch. ii. sec. 6.

livered as they were written, however they may have charmed the ears of Lord Carbery's cultivated family, they must have astonished beyond measure the Welsh villagers who formed the rest of the auditory, though it is not impossible that they, too, may have been attracted by the preacher's sweet voice and impressive manner, even without understanding his words. The collection of prayers to which Taylor gave the name of 'Golden Grove,' led to his imprisonment. Contrary to his wont, he had mingled with his panegyric on the Church of England an invective against Puritan preachers, and the authorities were perhaps rendered suspicious by the dedication to so well-known a royalist as Lord Carbery. We learn from a letter of John Evelyn's that he was in prison in February, 1654-5;\* but in April of the same year we find him at large and preaching in the little church of St. Gregory, by St. Paul's, where the use of the Common Prayer was still permitted. He returned to Wales, but in April, 1656, we find him dining with Evelyn at Says Court, in company with Boyle and Wilkins. In July he is again in Wales, much troubled by his narrow circumstances—a trouble which, to his honour be it said, Evelyn lightened so far as lay in his power†—and longing for the society and the libraries which were to be found in the 'voysinage' of London. His home in Wales was very sorrowful, for he had just lost a little boy, 'that lately made him very glad;' and again, in February, 1656-7, he speaks of small-pox and fever having broken out in his household, and of having buried 'two sweet hopeful boys.' He had then but one son left, and perhaps began to desire to leave a scene associated with so much grief. He seems generally to have visited London once in the year, and always found friends to welcome him, especially Evelyn, the Marcenias—or ought we rather to say, the Gaius?—of distressed churchmen of those days. On one of these visits he was sent to the Tower, because his publisher had prefixed to his 'Collection of Offices' an engraving of our Lord in the attitude of prayer—a representation which some of the authorities in those days held to be idolatrous. His imprisonment, however, did not last long; in the spring of 1658, we find him at liberty in London. There Lord Conway, a great Irish landowner, offered him a lectureship at Lisburn, in the neighbourhood of his own estates, the tenantry on which he hoped would be benefited by the ministrations of so excellent a man. Of Lord Conway's kindness and Taylor's gratitude we have evidence

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\* Heber's 'Life,' pp. xxxix. cclxxiii.

† See Taylor's letter of May, 1657, in 'Life,' p. lxiv.

in the letter given below, which is now printed for the first time from the autograph in the possession of Mr. Murray :—

‘MY VERY GOOD LORD,

April 17, 1658.

‘ I have till now deferred to write to your Lordship, because I could not sooner give an account of the time when I could attend your Lordship at Ragley ; but now that my wife is well laid and in a hopeful condition, I hope I shall not be hindered to begin my journey to my Lady Chaworth on the 26th of this month, and from thence by the grace of God I will be coming the third of May towards Ragley, unless your affairs call your Lordship from thence before that time ; but if they are like to do so, and I have intimation of it from your Lordship, I will begin my journey that way and from thence go on to Nottinghamshire. My Lord, I suppose by the first return of the carrier you will receive those pieces of Thom. Nash which I received by your Lordship’s command to put into order and to make as complete as I could. Upon the view of them, and comparing them with what I had, I found I had but one to add, which I have caused to be bound up with the rest : but I have as yet failed of getting that piece of Castalia against Beza which your Lordship wished to have, but I shall make a greater search as soon as it please God I am well : for I write this to your Lordship in my bed, being afflicted with a very great cold, and some fears of an ague ; but those fears are going off, because I see my illness settling into a cold. . . . And now, my Lord, having given your Lordship an account of these little impertinencies, my great business, which I shall ever be doing but shall never finish, is to give your Lordship the greatest thanks in a just acknowledgement and publication of your greatest, your freest, your noblest obligations passed upon me ; for the day scarce renews so often as your Lordship’s favours to me. My Lord, I have from the hand of your excellent Lady received 30*l*. : for your Ladyship not only provides an excellent country for me, but a viaticum, and manna in the way, that the favour may be as much without charge to me as it is without merit on my part. Truly, my Lord, if your Lordship had done to me as many other worthy persons have, that is, a single favour, or a little one, or something that I had merited, or something for which I might be admitted to pay an equal service, or anything which is not without example, or could possibly be without envy to me, I could have spoken such things as might have given true and proper significations of my thankfulness ; but in earnest, my Lord, since I have understood the greatness of the favour you have done and intended to me—if I had not been also acquainted with the very great nobleness of your disposition, I should have had more wonder than belief ; but now, my Lord, I am satisfied with this, that although this conjugation of favours is too great for me to have hoped for from one person, yet it was not too great for your Lordship to give ; and I see that in all times, especially in the worst, God is pleased to appoint some heroical examples of virtue, that such extraordinary precedents might highly reprove and in some measure restore the almost lost worthiness

worthiness of mankind. My Lord, you read my heart, which with the greatest simplicity and ingenuity sends forth some of its perpetual thoughts; but if I can have my option, I shall not receive this heap of favours with so great joyfulness as I shall with earnestness beg this greater favour, that it may be in some measure put into my power to express how much I love, how much I honour, how willingly I would serve so excellent, so dear a person. My good Lord, I am,

‘Your Lordship’s most humble,

‘most obliged, and most affectionate servant,

‘JER. TAYLOR.

‘I pray, my good Lord, present my humble service to your excellent and pious mother, and to good Mr. Whitby.’

From this interesting document we learn for the first time that Taylor was acquainted with the family of Chaworth of Annesley, so well known in later times from their connexion with another man of very different stamp of genius. It gives us a glimpse of Taylor’s book-hunting habits, when we find that his patron employed him to complete his collection of Tom Nash’s works—which, though not by any means of a theological character, were already in his own library—and to procure him a copy of *Castalio* against Beza. The latter was probably of Taylor’s own recommending; for he sympathised with him both in his anti-Calvinistic theology and in his desire for freedom of religion. There is no denying that his expressions of gratitude to Lord Conway are, to our notions, hyperbolical and unsuited to the dignity of a great divine. Such expressions are quite in the manner of the time; yet Lord Conway seems to have been a little annoyed at their exuberance, for his manly reply contains something very like a reproof.

This letter makes certain what Heber had already conjectured, that Taylor’s letter of May 12, 1658, in which he declines a lectureship offered him by a friend of Evelyn’s, on the condition of alternating with a presbyterian, ‘like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other down,’ does not refer to Lord Conway’s chaplaincy.

In Lord Conway he had one of the kindest and most considerate of patrons, who did the best to smooth the way for him in his difficulties. Besides giving him the benefit of his own influence, he procured for him introductions to some of the most considerable persons in Ireland, and Dr. Petty,\* who had been employed in the survey of Ireland and knew the country well, ‘promised to provide him a purchase of land at great advantage.’ Moreover, my Lord Protector, who was perhaps not sorry to have so distin-

\* Afterwards Sir William Petty, author of the ‘*Political Anatomy of Ireland*,’ and founder of the English settlement at Kenmare.

guished a royalist removed from London, 'gave him a pass and protection for himself and his family under his sign manual and privy signet.' The letter\* from which these expressions are taken is dated June 15, 1658, and Taylor had probably left London for Ireland a short time before.

He settled at Portmore, 'a place,' says Rust, 'made for study and contemplation,' where he may have seen 'the round towers of other days' shining in the wave beneath him as he strayed on the banks of Lough Neagh. He evidently enjoyed this 'most charming recess,'† and writes in a tone of great contentment to Lord Conway, to whom a son and heir had just been born: 'since my coming into Ireland, by God's blessing and your lordship's favour, I have had plenty and privacy, opportunities of studying much, and opportunities of doing some little good.' He is 'endeared with the neighbourhood,' he 'would count it next to a divorce to be drawn from it;' he 'would fain account himself fixed there during his life;' if his lordship will but come himself to reside on his Irish estates, he may bore Taylor's ear,‡ and make him his slave for ever.§ Yet he confesses, in the same letter, that, in the absence of Major Rawdon, Lord Conway's brother-in-law and agent, there was nothing around him but '*ingens solitudo*,' and 'the country like the Nomades, without law and justice.' In truth, the troubles of the time penetrated into his pleasant recess. In June, 1659, he writes to Evelyn:—'a Presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion and for using the sign of the cross in baptism.'|| This information led to the issuing of a warrant by the Irish Privy Council, which brought him to Dublin early in 1659-60, 'in the worst of our winter weather,' to the serious detriment of his health. He seems, however, to have obtained an easy acquittal from the 'Anabaptist commissioners.' On April 9, 1659, he writes to Lord Conway¶ that his *opus magnum*, his great book on cases of conscience, is finished, except two little chapters, and that he has sent a servant to London with the copy; he begs his lordship to forward to him the sheets of his work as they were printed, Lord Conway having no doubt frequent communications with friends who resided on his Irish property.

Meantime, Oliver Cromwell was dead, and the reins of government were slipping from the slack hands of his son Richard. In

\* Printed in Heber's 'Life,' p. cclxxxvi.

† Taylor dates his epitaph on Dr. Stearne, 'ex amœnissimo recessu in Portmore;' Heber's 'Life,' p. lxxvii.

‡ Alluding to Exod. xxi. 6.

§ 'Life,' p. lxxiv.

Autograph in Mr. Murray's possession.

the spring of the momentous year 1660 we find Taylor in London; on April 24 in that year he signed the famous 'Declaration' to General Monk; in May, Charles landed in England; and in June Taylor dedicated to his restored sovereign the work of many laborious years, his '*Ductor Dubitantium*.'

Charles probably did not bestow much attention on the learned work thus offered to him, for his was not a conscience troubled with doubts; but so eminent a royalist as Jeremy Taylor could not be passed over in the distribution of ecclesiastical preferment. In August, 1660, he was appointed to the see of Down and Connor, to which that of Dromore was afterwards added. Various conjectures have been offered to account for his not having been nominated for an English see; as, that the King wished his natural sister, Taylor's wife, to be removed to a distance from the court; a conjecture which seems in the highest degree improbable, even if we grant the fact, not too well attested, that Joanna Bridges was a daughter of Charles I. It is, of course, possible that Taylor was appointed to an Irish see, simply because he had eminent qualifications for it. If we look to the interests of the diocese, we shall hardly find another man so qualified to preside over it; at once learned, able, and conciliatory; already acquainted with the district, and skilled in the controversy both with Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. Lord Conway, too, seems to have used his influence to procure the appointment of his much-esteemed friend—whom he thought 'the choicest person in England appertaining to the conscience'—to the diocese in which he was himself most interested.\* Yet we cannot help suspecting that Sheldon, the great manager of ecclesiastical patronage in those days, bore Taylor no good will. He had disliked his appointment at All Souls: he had been offended by what he thought his Pelagian theology, and there was perhaps some other cause of rancour in the background; for Taylor, in a piteous letter to Sheldon,† in which he begs to be translated to England if his Grace does not wish him to 'die immaturely,' says that he had been 'informed by a good hand,' that his Grace had said that he (Taylor) was himself the only hindrance to his being removed to an English bishopric. That which was the hindrance to his being translated to an English bishopric may have been the cause of his being removed from England in the first instance. Whatever the cause of the appointment, we cannot but fear that he left the pleasant society of London, then bubbling with excite-

\* Taylor says (letter to Lord Conway of March 2, 1660-1, in Mr. Murray's possession) 'that I am here . . . I owe to my relations to your Lordship.'

† 'Life,' p. exix.

ment, for his disturbed diocese, with somewhat the same feelings with which Gregory Nazianzen sought his see in dull and remote Sasima. He was consecrated, with eleven other bishops, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Jan. 27, 1660-1, and himself preached the sermon. He had previously, on Ormond's recommendation, been chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, where he 'found all things in a perfect disorder;' and in February he was made a member of the Irish Privy Council;\* neither of these offices was a sinecure.

The state of his diocese may well have filled with dismay a man who loved study and quiet, and shrank from heat and violence. In no part of Ireland had the clearance of the clergy of the Reformed Irish Church been more effectual. The new bishop found himself in the midst of a body of Presbyterians, led by Scotclumen of the school of Cameron, with their original fanaticism exasperated to the utmost by contact with the votaries of Popery and Prelacy. He was received with a storm of denunciation when he visited his diocese before his consecration; the Scotch ministers were implacable; they had agreed among themselves to preach vigorously and constantly against episcopacy and liturgy; they talked of resisting unto blood, and stirred up the people to sedition. The bishop-designate preached every Sunday among them, he invited them to a conference, he courted them with most friendly offers; but they would not even speak with him: they had newly covenanted to endure neither the person nor the office of a bishop. They bought his books, and appointed a 'committee of Scotch spiders to see if they could gather or make poison out of them;' they drew up a statement against him, and intended to petition the King against his appointment. Nay, his very life was not safe; not only did they try by every means to take the people's hearts from him, but they threatened to murder him outright. No wonder that he says in despair, 'It were better for me to be a poor curate in a village church than a bishop over such intolerable persons;' no wonder that he begs the Duke of Ormond to give him some parsonage in Munster, where he may end his days in peace.† He had probably but little peace for the remainder of his days; for though many of the laity in his dioceses were well disposed, the opposition of the Presbyterian ministers, who were generally as disloyal to the Government as unfriendly to the bishop, never ceased. In the summer of 1662, we find him again complaining

\* He begs Lord Conway's interest to get him placed on the Privy Council, because 'it would add so much reputation to him among the Scots, and be useful for settling the diocese.' (Letter of Jan. 2, 1660-1, in Mr. Murray's possession).

† Letter of Dec. 19, 1660, to the Duke of Ormond, in 'Life,' p. ci.



of the meetings of the 'pretended ministers,' of the refractoriness of the people and their mutinous talkings; and a few months before his death he tells Ormond of the advance of the former mischiefs, and believes that the Scotch rebellion of 1655 'was either born in Ireland or put to nurse there.\*' The North of Ireland immediately after the Restoration was certainly no place for a bishop who loved peace.

Yet his misery was not without alleviations; the great Ormond supported and encouraged him, and Lord Conway was a steady and sympathising friend. He hoped in the first instance to live at Lisnegarvy [Lisburn], and got 'a very pretty design for his house' from a gentleman in Dublin that had 'very good skill in architecture.'† Probably, this design was found for the time impracticable, for he continued to reside at Portmore, where he had a house and farm, as we learn from a curious story preserved in Glanvil's '*Sadducismus triumphatus*,‡ of the ghost seen by David Hunter, 'neatherd at the bishop's house at Portmore.' Still, however, he does not seem to have abandoned the hope of having a cathedral and a palace at Lisburn. The church of that place was made a cathedral for the united sees of Down and Connor by letters patent October 22, 1662, the old cathedral of Down having been burnt by Lord-Deputy Gray in 1538, and still lying waste in 1637, when it was the subject of a correspondence between Laud and Strafford,§ which had no result in consequence of the troubles soon following. In 1665, we find him urging upon Lord Conway the care of their 'great concern, the cathedral of Lisburn,' and proposing to his Lordship to give lands in Lisburn in exchange for Church lands, that the bishops may have a 'convenient seat' there. It was important for them to have a strong, as well as a convenient house, for it was not improbable that they might have to maintain themselves in it by force against a rebellion.¶ Again, in a later letter (probably of 1666) he hopes that by this time his Lordship hath some account of the King's letter for their cathedral. He rebuilt the choir of the ruined cathedral of Dromore at his own expense, and the 'handmaid of the Lord,' Joanna Taylor, the bishop's wife, presented the chalice and paten.¶ Nor was this the only form in which his liberality showed itself; all accounts agree, that now that he was able, for the first time in his life, to dispense instead of receiving bounty, he fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and

\* See the Letters in 'Life,' p. ciii.

† Letter of March 2, 1660-1, in Mr. Murray's possession.

‡ Reprinted in 'Life,' p. cxciv.

§ Mant's '*Hist. of the Ch. of Ireland*,' p. 512.

¶ Letter of Jan. 28, 1664-5, in Mr. Murray's possession. ¶ 'Life,' cix. cxcxi. provided

provided for the fatherless. 'He was,' says Sir James Ware,\* 'so charitable to the poor, that, except moderate portions to his daughters, he spent all his income on alms and public works.'

All this time his health appears to have been delicate. We find constantly in his letters that he is suffering from a 'great cold,' with pain and feverishness; more than once he complains, as in the letter to Sheldon above referred to, that the climate in which he lived was unsuitable for him. And he was not without heavy domestic affliction. Of the sons of his second marriage, only one survived the sickness which attacked the household in Wales, and him he buried at Lisburn. Two sons of the first marriage grew up to manhood, both of whom seemed to have shared in the wild follies of the Restoration period. The eldest, a captain of horse, fell in a duel with a brother officer named Vane, who also died of his wounds; † and the good bishop almost sank under the blow. The second became secretary to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and died at his house in Baynard's Castle a few days before his father, who was probably spared the pain of hearing of his death. The bishop himself was attacked by fever at Lisburn, on the 3rd of August, 1667, and died after ten days' illness, in the seventh year of his episcopate. He was fifty-four years of age, if we suppose him to have been born in 1613, or fifty-six, if, as the records of Caius College seem to indicate, he was born in 1611. Whatever his age, his fancy had not grown dim, nor the natural force of his intellect abated.

Probably no English divine, even in those days when so many were cast out of their stalls or their parsonages, led a more chequered life than Jeremy Taylor. Cambridge, London, Oxford, Uppingham, the royal army, the retreat in Wales, the lectureship and the bishopric in Ireland, all pass before us in a life not prolonged much beyond middle age. No doubt these many changes, with their attendant miseries, and the feeling of being constantly under suspicion, must have been very grievous to the soul of one who loved study and evidently enjoyed the refinements of courtly society. In fact, a tone of querulousness does appear here and there in his letters; yet on the whole we believe that Taylor, in the midst of his distresses and wanderings, was a happy man; he had the disposition which instinctively withdraws itself from the contact of the petty roughnesses of life and seizes such enjoyments as are attainable. He would walk in the sunshine while sunshine was to be found, and not

\* 'Hist. of Ireland,' Ed. Harris, ii. 210

† This rests on the authority of Lady Wray, Taylor's granddaughter, who, making her statement at an advanced age, has probably confused some of the details. See 'Life,' pp. cxx. cxxviii.

voluntarily seek the bleak hill-side. The works of so very imaginative a writer give but an imperfect reflection of the character of the man; when a man can so readily throw himself into the mood which becoms the occasion, we hardly know what mood is natural to him: Garrick's Hamlet gives no indications of Garrick's own personality. Nevertheless, with all Taylor's changes of style and even of thought, the undercurrent of sweetness, gentleness, and tolerance is so constant that we can hardly doubt that these did indeed form an essential part of his character. And to this sweetness we have a better testimony than that of his works—his power of attracting friends. We have seen in the course of this sketch how John Evelyn, Lord Carbery, and Lord Conway valued him as a friend and spiritual adviser, and were ready on all occasions to forward his interests. And these were not all; another of his noble friends was Christopher, Lord Hatton, to whom he dedicated the 'Life of Christ;' that he was received in the mansion of the Chaworths we find from the letter quoted above; and in Ireland, he seems to have lived on the most friendly terms with the Rawdons and the Hills of Hillsborough. If the richness of his conversation at all corresponded to that of his writings, he must have been a most charming companion; and he had that instinctive sympathy which adapts itself without effort to the disposition of the person addressed. Probably his episcopate was the least happy portion of his life; but such a man, with such friends, was not likely to be altogether miserable.

It is even pathetic to see how, in the midst of the distractions of his changeful life, he continues with indomitable perseverance his study and his writing. Besides Greek and Latin, he understood French and Italian; and not only was he extremely well read in patristic and scholastic theology, but he was constantly in communication with Mr. Royston, the bookseller, and contrived to keep himself acquainted with the current literature of the day, both English and foreign. He 'would rather furnish his study with Plutarch and Cicero, with Livy and Polybius, than with Cassandra and Ibrahim Bassa;'<sup>\*</sup> yet he did not despise either Madame de Scuderi, or Whetstone, or Tom Nash; he read Dante, but he was not averse to pass an hour with Poggio Bracciolini; he would recreate himself after his meditations on Holy Dying with a story of Petronius. His cry is still, 'how is any art or science likely to improve? What good books are lately public? What learned men abroad or at home begin

<sup>\*</sup> 'Essay on Friendship,' p. 81. 'Promos and Cassandra' is a 'comical discourse' by G. Whetstone. 'Ibrahim Bassa' is a romance by Madame de Scuderi (M. Eden's note, in loco).

anew to fill the mouth of fame in the places of the dead Salmasius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresc, Petavius, and the excellent persons of yesterday? When he hears that Lord Conway is likely to reside on his Irish estates, his hope is that his lordship will bring his library with him.† Never was there a more eager devourer of books; if he kept a common-place book, it must have been at least as remarkable as Southey's; but we are inclined to think, from the way that his illustrations are introduced, that he drew most of them from the stores of his memory. Yet there were considerable gaps in his vast reading; he does not seem to have had much sympathy with the great philosophical movement of his own time; he refers, as we have seen, to Des Cartes; yet that intrepid spirit, who undertook to reconstruct philosophy from its foundations, does not seem to have influenced his writings; he is scarcely quoted, though he wrote on Taylor's favourite science of Ethics. He refers to Galileo, but we doubt whether, even in passing, he alludes to any discovery of the Tuscan artist. He always gives us the impression that he loved belles lettres, rhetoric, and casuistic theology, rather than the severer pursuits of philosophy. When he talks 'metaphysically,' he is rather apt to talk 'extravagantly' also.‡ Of the books which he thought most essential for a student of theology we have a list in a letter to Mr. Graham, a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.§ From this we find that, in his opinion, the works of Episcopius, the great leader of the Arminians in the Low Countries, 'contained the whole body of orthodox religion;' and there are manifest traces of the influence of this remarkable man upon his theology, and, indeed, upon a considerable portion of the contemporary theology of England. Other continental writers whom he commends are Chemnitz, Gerhard, Du Moulin, Chamier, Vossius, and Casaubon. For school divinity he prefers Occam on the 'Sentences,' Aquinas's 'Summa Theologiae,' with Suarez's 'Comment;' Biel; and Estius on the 'Sentences;' his emphatic preference for the Jesuits Estius and Suarez helps to explain some of the weak points of his moral theology. In English divinity he recommends Hooker, Andrews, Laud, Lord Falkland 'Of Infallibility,' Bramhall, Overall, Field, Sanderson, and Faringdon, besides several of 'Dr. Taylor's' works, and some treatises—tracts for the times—the fame of which has long passed away. But this list, intended for a student in

\* To Evelyn, in 'Life,' p. lxxxii.

† Letter of April 9, 1659, in Mr. Murray's possession.

‡ Letter to Lord Conway, Feb. 2., 1658-9, in Mr. Murray's possession.

§ 'Life,' p. lxxxviii.

theology whom he wished to imbue with his own theologic opinions, very imperfectly represents Taylor's reading, though it sufficiently indicates his preferences; it is, as he himself says, but the beginning of a theological library, fit for one who wished 'to be wise and learned in the Christian religion, as it is taught and professed in the Church of England.' He himself studied the writings of foes as well as friends; he did not contend, as some have done, against Bellarmine and Calvin without reading their works; and he is often more successful in attacking his enemies than in supporting his friends.

And if his perseverance in study is remarkable, his industry in writing is no less so. In all the changes of his life, whether in his Welsh retirement or in the midst of the distractions of his Irish see, his pen seems to have been scarcely ever out of his hand. He wrote with extraordinary facility. In the twenty-five years between the publication of his 'Defence of Episcopacy' and his death, he published matter which, in his own days, filled several folio volumes, and even in the more compressed form of modern times furnishes a respectable shelf of octavos. If we could recover the whole of his correspondence, another volume would probably have to be added to the series. And these works were not of the kind which an ingenious person with a sufficient command of words may produce almost at will; they almost all involved careful research and reflection. His studies and writings ranged over the whole field of theology; there is hardly a doctrinal point on which he has not expressed an opinion, generally one which marks him as beyond his age in vigour and independence of thought. He is not always judicious, but he is rarely prejudiced; if he comes to a wrong conclusion it is not for want of admitting what might be urged on the other side.

He is eminently a Church of England man; the breadth, simplicity, and nobleness of our National Church were dear to one who loved moderation and largeness of spirit, and hated violence and tyranny with all his heart. He loved the middle way between tyranny and license; he thinks 'to the churches of the Roman Communion we can say that ours is reformed; to the Reformed churches we can say that ours is orderly and decent. At the Reformation we did not expose our churches to that nakedness which the excellent men of our sister churches complained to be among themselves.' It was not yet characteristic of an Anglican divine to refuse the title of 'sister' to the Protestant churches of the continent. He sincerely loved the Book of Common Prayer, and mourned when it was 'cut in pieces with a pen-knife and thrown into the fire,' though it was not consumed;

consumed ; he longed for it, as for a blessing once common, now removed to a distance ; ‘when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and actual possession.’ Of Scripture he speaks in terms at once reverent and reasonable, maintaining always its supreme authority, yet rejecting the opinion of those who think that ‘errors or imperfections in grammar were (in respect of the words) precisely immediate inspirations and dictates of the Holy Ghost.’\*

With regard to the discipline of the Church he was a constant assertor of the superior claims of episcopal government. Not only in a set treatise, published in the very crash of the falling Church, but everywhere, if the subject suggests it, he defends episcopacy against the Presbyterian or Independent ‘novelists’ of his time. He had an instinctive repugnance to democracy, whether in Church or State ; his feelings, in spite of his breadth and tolerance, were essentially dainty and aristocratic ; he liked not to be ‘pushed at by herds and flocks of people that follow anybody that whistles to them or drives them to pasture ;’† he was clearly of Charles II.’s opinion, that Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman ;‡ his tastes concurred with his principles in favour of the ancient form of ecclesiastical government ; he could not but prefer the decent order, the traditive authority, and the long prestige of episcopacy to the often tumultuous self-government of Presbyterians or Independents ; but he is not for permitting ecclesiastical powers to employ secular force.

That which has been most assailed in Taylor’s theology is his doctrine on the great mystery of original sin and free-will, which appears most prominently in the ‘Treatise on Repentance.’ When that treatise first appeared it was attacked by Puritans and mourned over by Churchmen ; in our own times it has furnished a theme for the severe remarks of his warmest admirers, S. T. Coleridge and Reginald Heber. It is not to be denied that he does extenuate the effect of Adam’s fall, and exalt to the utmost the free-will and the natural powers of man ; yet it is but fair in estimating his offence to remember his circumstances. A kind of Manichæism had crept into theology : the teaching of a large and powerful party tended to make man a mere puppet between opposing forces of good and evil, and

\* ‘Life,’ clxix.

† ‘Essay on Friendship,’ p. 72.

‡ In an undated letter to Lord Conway (in Mr. Murray’s possession) Taylor says that the Privy Councillors knew that his lordship was ‘too much a gentleman to be undone with such principles’ as those of the Presbyterians.

this teaching assumed its harshest form in the mouths of some of the Puritan leaders of the seventeenth century; in the treatises of some of these divines man scarcely appears a moral being; he is simply swayed by forces which he cannot control, propelled onward to a destiny which he cannot mitigate. Against this doctrine Taylor revolted with all his soul; man was to him, before all things, a moral agent, a responsible being; his favourite study lay in the region of man's will and man's conscience; hence he was eager to assert that man's will was constrained by no irresistible force. We do not think that he goes further in the assertion of man's moral dignity than Basil or Chrysostom would have approved, but, hedged round as he was by the technical theology of his time, he was compelled to seek his end through bye-paths, which sometimes led him into dangerous country.

With the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he deals in a more satisfactory manner; at once devout and learned, he was especially fitted to treat a matter so sacred, and so perplexed by the subtleties of a thousand years. Against the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation he is clear and convincing; his familiarity with scholastic logic served him well in his arguments, and his great learning in his discussion of historical facts; to use Coleridge's words,\* 'he transubstantiated his vast imagination and fancy into subtlety not to be evaded, acuteness to which nothing remains unpierceable, and indefatigable agility of argumentation.'

The same skilful polemic which in the treatise on the sacrament he directed against Transubstantiation, he turned against the tenets of the Roman Church generally in his well-known 'Dissuasive from Popery,' certainly one of his most successful works. It is, in truth, a model of Christian controversy; his tone towards his adversaries is gentle and affectionate, even while he lays bare, with an unsparing hand, enormities which might well move his indignation; his exposure of the novelties and inconsistencies of the Roman Church is complete and triumphant; he knew both their theories and their practices, their theories which they dared not put in practice, and their practices supported by no theory; yet, with all this, he speaks to Romanists as one who endeavours to persuade friends, and—to his honour be it said—he earnestly deprecates penal measures against them. It was said, during the troubles of the seventeenth century, that if there had been an Earl of Cork in each province of Ireland, there would have been no Irish Rebellion;

\* 'Notes on English Divines,' i. 280.

who shall say how the history of unhappy Ireland might have been changed, if at the Restoration each province had been blessed with a Jeremy Taylor?

The 'Ductor Dubitantium,' or 'Doubters' Guide,' was, no doubt, regarded by its author as his great work, the one which was to perpetuate his fame. And, in truth, few English works rival it in learning and ingenuity; yet, instead of being as Taylor doubtless hoped it would be, the treasure-house where generations of Englishmen might find resolution of painful doubts, it has become the amusement of a few retired students. And this by no fault of the author; even in his lifetime Hobbes appealed to the common intellect with greater force and directness; and before the race of the 'old cavaliers' had quite passed away, Locke's famous Essay gave a new direction to metaphysical and ethical enquiry. Our limits forbid us to offer even an outline of the discussions contained in Taylor's *Opus Magnum*; we can but mention briefly its leading characteristics. He published the book, he tells us in the preface, because his countrymen were almost wholly unprovided with casuistical treatises, and so 'were forced to go down to the forges of the Philistines to sharpen every man his share and his coulter, his axe, and his mattock,' and by answers from abroad their needs were very ill supplied. English literature, it is true, in Taylor's time was not absolutely destitute of casuistical works; but none of these older works are comparable in range with the 'Ductor Dubitantium,' nor do they discuss the grounds of morality with the same completeness. The 'Ductor' is not, as is perhaps sometimes imagined, a mere collection of cases and resolutions for the use of those who 'direct' souls, such as had been common for many generations in the Roman Church; though it does discuss special cases, it is in the main a treatise on moral philosophy, grounded on the belief that man has an intuitive perception of right and wrong; Taylor teaches, as Abelard had done long before, that the ground of morality is the will of God revealed to us through Conscience; as well as through Holy Scripture; 'God is in our hearts by His laws; he rules us by His substitute, our conscience.' Conscience therefore is, says Taylor characteristically, 'the household guardian, the spirit or angel of the place.' On this foundation he builds his ethical edifice. He discusses the various kinds of conscience, distinguishing, perhaps with more subtlety than profit, the right, the confident, the probable, the doubtful, and the scrupulous conscience; thence he proceeds to treat of the obligations of conscience in relation to the natural law, to the ceremonial law, and to the law of Christ; thence to human positive law, whether



of states, or of the Church, or of the several families of which states are composed; his last book he devotes to the consideration of the nature and causes of good and evil, and of the efficient and final causes of human actions. It is in that part which relates to the 'probable or thinking conscience' that he introduces a magnificent sketch of the probabilities on which faith in Christianity is founded; a sketch which contains some of his most splendid passages. The work is not free from grave faults; his casuistic reading tended to make him sometimes over-subtle and unreal in his distinctions, he does not always keep a firm grasp of his principles, and his illustrations are sometimes—to say the least—injudicious; yet we cannot help admiring the exhaustive learning, the ample illustration, and the eloquence maintained with unflagging vigour to the close. Taylor, as we have already said, was jostled from the course by a crowd of lighter-footed and less-burdened competitors; but if he cannot compete with Butler in calmness and justness of intellect, nor with Paley in clearness of style and arrangement, his work remains unrivalled among English ethical works for breadth of learning and stately harmony of diction.

The work of Taylor's, which is, on the whole, most original and characteristic, is undoubtedly the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' his great plea for freedom in the formation and expression of opinion. In other works Taylor did but adorn forms of literature which were common before his time; but in his plea for toleration he is epoch-making; few had risen to that height of contemplation at which the fainter lines vanished from the surface of the ecclesiastical world, none had expressed with so much vigour and eloquence the thoughts of a large and charitable heart on the divisions of Christendom. In ages to come, Taylor's fame will, perhaps, rest even more on his 'Liberty of Prophesying' than on his incomparable sermons.

Like many of the greatest works of genius, like Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity' and Milton's 'Arcopagitica,' the 'Liberty of Prophesying' was an 'occasional' work; it was called forth by the necessities of the time. It first made its appearance in 1647, one of the most critical periods of the great struggle. That it had any political end in view we do not believe; but there can be no doubt that Taylor's conviction of the evil of intolerance was quickened by the sight of the miseries inflicted on the country by a war of religion. Only a man whose soul, 'like a star, dwelt apart' from the passion and turmoil of the time could have conceived the thought of 'persuading the rough and hard-handed soldiers to have disbanded themselves presently,'

sently,' at the voice of charity and reason; if he had been a politician, we should perhaps have smiled at his simplicity; in a Christian preacher we honour the faith in the power of love and truth, which led him to cast his little cruse of oil on the troubled waters, even in their wildest rage.

The argument of the 'Liberty of Prophesying' has two ends in view; on the one hand it deals with the great question of terms of communion, and the social and ecclesiastical considerations involved in it; on the other, it discusses the duty of a civil government with respect to the forms of Christianity which exist within its jurisdiction. With regard to the first of these he holds that no dogmas ought to be made necessary conditions for admission to the membership of a church, but such as can be propounded *infallibly*. What then are these dogmas? The greater part of the theological propositions about which Christendom is divided he sets aside, as being either not revealed, or not perfectly clear, or not necessary; the various authorities to which men have attributed infallibility he sweeps aside in succession; neither ecclesiastical tradition, nor Councils, nor Popes, nor Fathers of the Church, nor the Church itself 'in its diffusive capacity,' can in his judgment claim immunity from error in interpreting Scripture or propounding dogmatic sentences. How then are we to find guidance for our steps? He answers, following the line of thought which Hooker had indicated half-a-century earlier, 'in the due exercise of Reason.' The supreme authority of Scripture is assumed throughout the discussion; this being assumed, reason 'proceeding upon the best grounds is the best judge.' Not that he is unaware that human reason often judges wrongly; but he thinks that its errors, if not wilful, are venial, and he sees that, right or wrong, a man who judges at all must needs use his own judgment, just as a man who sees at all must needs use his own eyes, however imperfect. It may be wisest to choose a guide once for all, and follow him always; still, this choice is the act of the individual reason; and Taylor himself is not well assured 'whether intrusting himself wholly with another, be not a laying up his talent in a napkin;'\* he fears lest he sin in not using the talent which 'is death to hide.' The conclusion arrived at is, that no proposition can be laid down as necessary to Christian communion beyond those contained in the Apostles' Creed, which 'the Apostles, or the holy men their contemporaries and disciples, composed to be a rule of faith to all Christians.'†

With

\* Sec. 10, s. 3.

† Taylor is perhaps not quite ingenuous in this.\* Though it be true that a creed, or rule of faith, descended from Apostolic times, he can hardly have supposed that

With regard to the civil government, Taylor's view appears to be of this kind; that it is no more oppressive for a sovereign prince to require from his subjects the knowledge of that which is open to the 'common sense' of mankind in theology, than in morals or politics; a man may as well be presumed to know the leading facts of the Christian revelation, as to know that theft is contrary to law, and that the magistrate is to be obeyed. Hence, his whole discussion relates to those who receive the articles of the Apostles' Creed, the reception of which he had already maintained to be of universal obligation; all who receive these articles are to be tolerated, unless their tenets are such as to be dangerous to the civil government or to public morality. This leads him to discuss the special cases of the Roman Catholics and the Anabaptists. With regard to the former, he will not allow that the mere falsehood of their speculative doctrines is a sufficient reason for persecuting them; the body politic is no judge of dogma; Gallio was right—Taylor was almost alone in that age in thinking so—when he said, 'if it be a question of words and names, and of your laws, I will be no judge of such matters;' but he condemns them for holding principles both leading to ill life and subversive of civil government; and as our duties in respect of morality and obedience to the law of the land are plain and obvious, he who preaches doctrines contrariant to them is to be condemned as a traitor, or a 'destroyer of human society.' And similarly with regard to the Anabaptists. He will not allow that their objection to infant-baptism is any good reason for persecuting them, or for excluding them from Christian communion; for there is, he holds (rather to the scandal of some of his contemporaries), no command of Scripture, nor even any canon of the Church within the first four centuries, 'to oblige children to the susception of it;' but with regard to their opinion on government, he lays it down in the strongest manner that the safety and well-being of the State is, and ought to be, the paramount consideration with the civil ruler, and that, therefore, he cannot tolerate the preaching of such doctrines as 'that it is not lawful for princes to put malefactors to death, nor to take up defensive arms, nor to minister on oath, nor to contend in judgment;' such principles as these 'destroy the bands of civil societies, and leave it arbitrary to every vain or vicious person whether man shall be safe, or laws be established, or a murderer hanged, or princes rule;' nay, we must put any sense

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this particular form, and no other, was Apostolic; for he refers to passages in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, which are not consistent with such a supposition. Compare Coleridge, 'Notes on English Divines,' i. 209 ff.

\* See, 20, s. 5.

whatever

whatever upon passages of Scripture, which seem to support such doctrines, rather than have it supposed 'that Christianity should destroy that which is the only instrument of justice, the restraint of vice and the support of bodies politic.'\*

In a word Taylor lays it down in the clearest manner, that the civil government is not concerned with opinions, however false or absurd, unless they prejudice the government as such; in that case, they must be suppressed as offences against government, not as speculative opinions. But in all this he contemplates a state composed of none but such as agree in accepting the article of the Apostles' Creed; and this, it may be said, is not complete toleration. True, it is not; but in Taylor's time the acceptance of this theory would in fact have produced almost complete toleration, for in spite of individual aberrations, there was then no sect which would not have accepted the simple statement of the objects of Christian faith contained in the Apostles' Creed; their disputes lay in another region altogether; and if he advocated a scheme which might have put an end to division and persecution then, he is not to be blamed if he did not provide for a state of things which did not exist until long afterwards. His work marks the highest level to which toleration of different opinions had then advanced, for even Milton's treatises† on toleration did not cover all Taylor's ground; and when, some generations later, the proposition to which Taylor's arguments in fact tended, that the State should tolerate all opinions whatever not dangerous to government or to society, was frankly and unconditionally maintained, it was maintained rather on the ground of the indifference of religions, than on the ground that Christianity inculcates the largest charity towards those who merely differ in opinion. Even now, few probably are prepared to receive Taylor's dictum, that involuntary error is not to be anathematized, and that 'heresy is not an error of the understanding, but an error of the will.'‡

We spoke just now of Milton and his noble defence of toleration. There is on this point so much community of spirit between him and Taylor, that we almost wonder to find them on opposite sides in the great struggle. Yet we ought not to wonder; for the objects which lay nearest the heart of Taylor and Milton alike were the dominant objects with no party; each

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\* Sec. 19. It is of course evident, from what is here stated, that the 'Anabaptists' of the seventeenth century had nothing in common with the respectable 'Baptists' of our day, except their objection to pædo-baptism.

† Moreover, Milton's treatise on 'Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes,' which contains the most noteworthy coincidences with the 'Liberty,' did not appear until 1659.

‡ Sec. 2.

party was bent upon making its own views prevail, rather than on bringing about that state of government which should best secure the rights of all; and the leading spirits in a disturbed age had naturally more sympathy with the men of action than the men of thought, whose dominant interests were not those of the majority; and in such circumstances the side taken by the more contemplative and wide-reaching spirits is often determined by considerations which have but slight connexion with their deepest convictions. Questions of prelacy or no-prelacy sever men who are agreed on the great questions of faith and charity.

But a heavy charge is made against Taylor, that having been an advocate for toleration when the Church of England was oppressed, he abandoned his principles and advocated oppression when the Church of England triumphed. Let us examine this; for, if it be well grounded, it is a deep stain on a great reputation. One ground of this charge, that he so changed the 'Liberty of Prophesying' after 1660 as to weaken its characteristic arguments may be at once dismissed. It reappeared in successive editions of his 'Controversial Tracts,' of which one (the second) was published when he was a bishop and his party triumphant. Changes there are certainly; additions are made in later editions, from books published since the date of the first;\* but the argument in favour of toleration is as clear in the last edition as in the first. A more tenable ground of reproach is that Taylor, in his sermon before the Parliament of Ireland in 1661, depreciated the rights of conscience in a manner inconsistent with the liberal principles which he formerly held. But this too is founded on a mistake; what he does maintain in the sermon in question is simply what is maintained by all jurists, that 'tenderness of conscience' cannot be pleaded against the law of the land; if it could, the execution of the law would depend upon individual caprice, and there would, in fact, be an end of all law. And he maintained the very same proposition in the 'Liberty of Prophesying' itself; 'if the laws be made so malleable as to comply with weak consciences, he that hath a mind to disobey is made impregnable against the coercive power of the law by this pretence; for a weak conscience signifies nothing in this case but a dislike of the law upon a contrary persuasion.† A man may wish for a change in the law, and yet be anxious that the respect due to existing laws should be maintained. So

\* The famous apologue of Abraham and the fire-worshipper, for instance, taken from a book published in 1651, is found in the second and all subsequent editions. This is illustrative of the widest possible tolerance, and as such was adopted by Benjamin Franklin and by Lord Kames from him.

† See 17, s. 1.

far, Taylor is not inconsistent; but we are somewhat startled to find him in the sermon inverting his favourite argument from the uncertainty of human opinion. In the 'Liberty' he had contended, that in the great uncertainty of opinions, states and churches should enforce upon their members the fewest and simplest opinions possible; in the sermon he contends on the contrary that, as opinion is uncertain, the individual should be ready to resign his own at the bidding of the government, which has prescription in its favour. He exalts to the utmost the prerogative of the King, and it must be confessed that the tone of the sermon is somewhat hard and unsympathising. The truth probably is, that the preacher thought, not unreasonably, that the first task which lay before the Irish Parliament was to restore order, to which end it was his duty to preach obedience; and his own experience had probably convinced him that to include in one church the Irish Presbyterians and the Irish Prelatists was a consummation rather to be wished than hoped for. He is still careful to maintain that an 'opinion which does neither bite nor scratch, if it dwells at home in the house of understanding, and wanders not into the outhouses of passion and popular oration,' is not subject to the animadversion of the ruler; but he warns dissidents that it is one thing to be tolerated, another to be endowed and privileged. When they 'think they cannot enjoy their conscience unless you give them good livings . . . they do but too evidently declare, that it is not their consciences but their profits they would have secured.'\* In truth, his glorious vision of a national church founded simply on the acknowledgment of the great Christian verities, a church in which there should be difference of opinion without wrath and envying, had passed away; his mood was changed, nor is there any need to charge him with insincerity if years of trial had somewhat embittered his gentle spirit. Probably no other prelate of the newly restored Anglo-Irish Church could have been found who would not have declaimed against the late oppressors with far greater vehemence.

To pass from books which, like those we have just been discussing, bear a strong impress of the tumults of the seventeenth century to the devotional works, is like passing from the bustle of a street to the silence of a church. We must content ourselves with but a brief notice of these; for, in truth, prayers, and meditations, and directions for the conduct of Christian men in the most solemn incidents of their lives, are not fair subjects for criticism; the real test of the value of a devotional work is the

\* Dedication of the 'Sermon before the Parliament.'

amount of comfort which it has supplied to generations of earnest worshippers. And there can be no doubt that the 'Holy Living,' and 'Holy Dying,' the 'Golden Grove,' and other like works, have stood this test; they have helped to raise the thought and comfort the hearts of many worshippers. Yet we cannot but believe that men are fast losing the taste for such works as the 'Holy Living and Dying;' works, that is, which aim at suggesting the right thoughts, the right actions, and the right prayers under given circumstances. Men like Lord Conway and John Evelyn, women like Lady Carbery and Mrs. Philips, now-a-days aim rather at that general right-mindedness from which right conduct springs than at the cautious guidance of particular actions. The difference in tone between Taylor's *Holy Living* and Dean Goulburn's '*Thoughts on Personal Religion*,' measures very fairly the difference between the Christian gentleman of Taylor's time and the Christian gentleman of our own.

The '*Life of Christ*' and the *Sermons* may be classed together, for they are, in fact, works of the same kind. Of the first, we may say that nothing can be more unlike the '*Lives of Jesus*' of which we have had more than enough in these latter days. Criticism there is none; Taylor simply arranges the facts of the Lord's life in historical sequence, and inserts from time to time discourses on topics suggested by the history. The work may possibly have been suggested by '*Vita Jesu Christi*' of Ludolphus de Saxonia; but the two works only resemble each other in the circumstance that in both prayers and moral reflections are mixed with the narrative; the discourses themselves, which form the greater portion of Taylor's '*Life of Christ*,' are entirely his own, and differ little in style and manner from those which were published under the title of '*Sermons*.' His object was not to criticise facts or harmonize apparent discrepancies; in an age of strife, when men 'hugged their own opinions dressed up in the imagery' of truth, and went on to 'schisms and uncharitable names, and too often dipped their feet in blood,' he wished to withdraw them from 'the serpentine enfoldings and labyrinth of dispute' to contemplate the love and mercy displayed in the '*Great Exemplar*.' To fill 'the rooms of the understanding with airy and ineffective notions is just such an excellency as it is in a man to imitate the voice of birds;' but if a man lives 'in the religion and fear of God, in justice and love with all the world,' he is certain that he will 'not fail of that end which is perfective of human nature.'\*

\* Dedication of the '*Life of Christ*' to Christopher, Lord Hatton; one of the noblest of Taylor's many excellent dedications.

The discourse in the 'Life of Christ' and the Sermons contain the richest specimens of their author's gorgeous eloquence. In the polemical and practical treatises the style is comparatively subdued, though even here it is figurative and allusive beyond that of most of his other contemporaries; but in the Sermons he gave the reins to his fancy. He claims for them the praise, that they are on subjects of great and universal interest, which are the concern of all. Here and there he touches on his favourite pursuit, the resolution of cases of conscience, but generally he confines himself to the tracing of 'the greater lines of duty;' he cares but little if any 'witty censurer' shall say that he has learned from them nothing but he knew before; for no man ought to be offended, 'that sermons are not like curious inquiries after new nothings, but pursuances of old truths.' And his description of his own work is fair enough; the Sermons are in substance, if not in form, plain, practical discourses. The subjects are those on which the greatest amount of common-place has been written and preached; he discourses of 'righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,' of zeal and prayer, of feasting and marriage, rather than of those abstruse points of metaphysical theology where men 'find no end, in wandering mazes lost;' the plans of his Sermons are simple, the topics for the most part obvious, so that an analysis of one of them gives no truer impression of the effect of the whole than an outline of a Titian does of the subtle colouring of the original. It is not ingenuity of structure nor newness of topic that distinguishes the sermons of Taylor; in these respects he is surpassed by many of his contemporaries; it is the extraordinary wealth of illustration which he bestows upon old truths and simple schemes. In no sermons that we know of are obvious truths adorned with so gorgeous an array of thought, and fancy, and learning. His fancy was quick, his reading immense, and his memory retentive; not a subject can be suggested to him but there come trooping into his glowing mind illustrative images; struggles that he has beheld in the civil war: gentle landscapes from Golden Grove; words of Homer and Euripides, of Virgil and Lucan, of Dante and Tasso, of the singers of his own land; stories from the Fathers and the Lives of the Saints, from Hebrew Rabbis or Persian fabulists. Nothing comes amiss to him; he empties his cornucopie before us without stint or grudging; if the plan of his sermon is simple and unpretending, every part of it is garnished and decorated with the most luxuriant wealth of rhetorical and poetic trappings. We may compare one of his discourses to such a country church as we sometimes see in these days, where some loving hand has covered the simple work of a village



village masons with rich carvings, and filled the old windows with 'prophets pictured on the panes.'

He has often been compared to Chrysostom, and there can be no doubt that the mind of the English preacher was largely influenced by his study of the great orator of Antioch and Constantinople. There is in both the same peculiar union of real earnestness of purpose with rhetorical form and florid imagery; there is the same tendency to a gentle melancholy, and, in spite of the difference of language, there is even a resemblance in style: Taylor's style reflects Chrysostom's in much the same way that Hooker's does Cicero's. But Chrysostom, though exuberant in comparison with Demosthenes, is chaste compared with Taylor; he shows the training of the Athenian schools, which still formed an 'academy' of Greek style; he has none of Taylor's multifarious learning; Chrysostom and Photius together might have formed a Jeremy Taylor. In truth, we can recal only one other who unites wealth of learning, of fancy, and of expression, in the same degree as Jeremy Taylor—his contemporary, John Milton. The reading of these two extended in great measure over the same fields; we trace in both the same fondness for the Greek, Latin, and Italian poets—the same tendency to decorate Christian thought with Pagan imagery—the same delight in the modulation of long-drawn sentences—the same dissatisfaction with the discords and divisions of an age which must needs discuss prelacy and presbytery, synods and 'classic hierarchies,' while government could hardly be maintained, and Christianity itself was in danger. But with these points of likeness, how wide is the gulf between the two men! Nothing can be less like the fiery scorn of Milton than the gentle melancholy of Taylor; while Milton plunges into the arena, eager to enforce his own views of right and truth, unsparing in denunciation of those who oppose him, Taylor tenderly laments the evils of the time, and would fain persuade men and set them at one again: in Milton we are always conscious of strong will and fixed resolve; Taylor sometimes seems to be hardly master of himself to float passively on the full stream of his own learning and fancy. It is hardly likely that the two great masters of English prose were known to each other personally; in early Cambridge days, no doubt, the young scholar of Caius may have met face to face the scholar of Christ's, though in after times it is difficult to imagine that Cromwell's secretary can have had occasion to meet King Charles's chaplain. But with each other's works they were no doubt acquainted: it is not to be supposed that so omnivorous a reader as Taylor would remain ignorant of his great contemporary's '*Allegro*,' and '*Tomus*,' and '*Lycidas*,' or that Milton would neglect a work which

which in many respects so chimes with his own humour as the 'Liberty of Prophesying.' Taylor seems to show an acquaintance with one at least of Milton's early works, when, speaking of the triumphs of Christianity, he says that 'the holy Jesus made invisible powers to do him visible honours,' and that 'His apostles hunted demons from their tripods, their navels, their dens, their hollow pipes, their altars,' and that 'he made their oracles silent;\* words in which we trace an echo of the well-known lines of the 'Ode on the Nativity':—

'The oracles are dumb,  
No voice nor hideous hum  
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving,'

And Heber would fain persuade us that Milton had Taylor in his eye when he spoke of—

'Men, whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent  
Would have been held in high esteem by Paul,'

who yet had been 'branded heretics' by such as Edwards; and certainly we can hardly help supposing that Taylor's eloquent treatise would be more attractive to Milton than those of Goodwin and Peters, which shared the wrath of Rutherford and 'Scotch What-d'ye-call.'

In respect of his similes Taylor is the very Homer of preachers. His style is commonly metaphorical and allusive, but here and there, when he hits upon an image of unusual beauty, he seems unwilling to leave it with a mere touch, and elaborates it into a distinct and glowing picture. Sometimes his similes are wrought out from an anecdote in some recondite book, and these certainly, however they may adorn, do not render the subject more easy of apprehension to an ordinary intelligence; but the most beautiful are those which are drawn from natural objects. He evidently delighted in the varied beauty of country scenes; the sky and the clouds, the woods and vales and streams, the ever-new phenomena of the growth and decay of plants filled his soul with admiration and love. With the example of Thomson before us, who is said to have written in bed his famous description of morning, we hesitate to infer a man's habits from his imaginative writings; yet it is difficult not to believe that Taylor delighted in the dewy freshness of sunrise and the song of the early lark. His comparison of the ascent of the Christian's prayer to the rising of the lark—sometimes soaring, sometimes beaten back by rough winds—is too well known for quotation. He more than once

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\* 'Duct. Dubit,' Book I., c. iv. s. 22. The coincidence is noted by Mr. Willmott.

uses the sunrise as an illustration, and manages it with great felicity. In the 'Holy Dying,'\* he says that reason gradually dawns on the soul,—

'As when the sun approaching towards the gates of the morning first opens a little eye of heaven, and sends away the spirits of darkness, and gives light to a cock, and calls up the lark to mattins, and by-and-by gilds the fringes of a cloud and peeps over the eastern hills, thrusting out his golden horns like those which decked the brows of Moses when he was forced to wear a veil because himself had seen the face of God; and still, while a man tells the story, the sun gets up higher, till he shows a fair face and a full light, and then he shines one whole day, under a cloud often, and sometimes weeping great and little showers, and sets quickly.'

The same simile is again used, with excellent effect, to illustrate the gradual spread of Christianity over the world:—

'I have seen the sun with a little ray of distant light challenge all the powers of darkness, and, without violence and noise climbing up the hill, hath made night so to retire, that its memory was lost in the joys and sprightfulness of the morning: and Christianity, without violence or armies. . . . with obedience and charity, with praying and dying, did insensibly turn the world into Christian and persecution into victory.' †

A good instance of Taylor's strength and weakness in the management of comparisons is found in the very beautiful simile by which he illustrates the calm, sweet life of Lady Carbery ‡:—

'In all her religion, and in all her actions of relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding toward her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion. So have I seen a river deep and smooth passing with a still foot and a sober face, and paying to the Fiscus, the great exchequer of the sea, the prince of all watery bodies, a tribute large and full; and hard by it a little brook skipping and making a noise upon its unequal and neighbour bottom; and after all its talking and bragged motion, it paid to its common audit no more than the revenues of a little cloud or a contemptible vessel. So have I sometimes compared the issues of her religion to the solemnities and famed outsides of another's piety.'

The first clause of this passage is contrasted by Keble § with Burke's famous description of Marie Antoinette, in the first freshness of her queenly beauty, rising like the morning-star above the horizon. He quotes it as an instance of the poetical as opposed to the rhetorical treatment of imagery. And it serves that purpose

\* Ch. I, sec. iii. s. 2.

† Sermon on the 'Faith and Patience of the Saints,' Pt. i. s. 1.

‡ In the Funeral Sermon on Lady Carbery.

§ 'Prælectiones Academicæ,' i. 39.

pose admirably; the image is beautiful in itself, well adapted to illustrate the thought, and sufficiently suggested by the mere use of the words 'sliding toward her ocean.' More than this offends our modern sense; but if we concede to the florid taste of the preacher's age that he was justified in expanding his beautiful metaphor into a simile, we must still protest against the introduction of another figure within it; the words 'fiscus,' 'exchequer,' 'prince,' 'tribute,' 'audit,' though quite of the kind which even Milton himself might have used upon fit occasion, must surely be felt as jarring notes here. In a word, the passage suffers, like many others, from Taylor's unpruned exuberance; he is not content to suggest an image, he must give it in detail; he gives us so fully the work of his own imagination that he leaves nothing for ours, which is always a mistake in art. He wanted, in a far greater degree than Shakspeare, 'the art to blot,' and few men needed it more.\*

The following comparison, illustrating the blessing of God's chastisements, which seems to us hardly perfect in all its parts, is besides worthy of note from the fact that Southey transferred it entire to 'Thalaba':—

'I have known a luxuriant vine swell into irregular twigs and bold excrescences, and spend itself in leaves and little rings, and afford but trifling clusters to the wine-press, and a faint return to his heart which longed to be refreshed with a full vintage; but when the Lord of the vineyard had caused the dressers to cut the wilder plant and make it bleed, it grew temperate in its vain expense of useless leaves, and knotted into fair and juicy branches, and made account of the loss of blood by return of fruit.'

Here is Southey's version:—

'Repine not, O my son, the old man replied,  
That Heaven hath chastened thee. Behold this vine!  
I found it a wild tree, whose wanton strength  
Had swoln into irregular twigs  
And bold excrescences,  
And spent itself in leaves and little rings;  
So in the flourish of its wantonness  
Wasting the sap and strength

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\* It is interesting to compare the use of the same figure by another great master of imagination, Walter Scott. "'Macmurer that thou art," said Morton, in the enthusiasm of his reverie, "why chide with the rocks that stop thy course for a moment? There is a sea to receive thee in its bosom, and there is an eternity for man, when his fretful and hasty course through the vale of time shall be ceased and over. What thy petty fumings are to the deep and vast billows of a shoreless ocean, are our cares, hopes, fears, joys, and sorrows to the objects which must occupy us through the awful and boundless succession of ages."—"Old Mortality."

That

That should have given forth fruit.

But when I pruned the plant,  
Then it grew temperate in its vain expence  
Of uncloss leaves, and knotted as thou seest,  
Into those full clear clusters, to repay  
The hand that wisely wounded it.\*

The laurate, who fully acknowledged his appropriation of the image, altered as little as possible what he himself called Taylor's 'unimprovable' language; yet the whole passage has in Southey a heaviness which it has not in Taylor: Taylor was, in truth, much the better poet of the two.

Such beauties as those which we have quoted meet us everywhere in Taylor's sermons and practical works: his fancy always glows; yet it must needs be confessed that his superabundant illustrations, especially those which are drawn from books, very much detract from the impression of earnestness which a sermon ought to produce. They give to his discourses the appearance of *ἐπιδείξεις*, or show-speeches, rather than of the didactic and persuasive oratory which ought to characterize the utterances of a Christian preacher. After making all possible allowance for the florid and learned style of the seventeenth century, we cannot but feel that the preacher is rather amusing than persuading or instructing us when, inveighing against luxury, he tells us that there are 'in the shades below no numbering of healths by the numeral letters of Philenium's name, no fat mullets, no oysters of Lucrinus, no Lesbian or Chian wines,' and bids us 'now enjoy the delicacies of nature, and feel the descending wines distilled through the limbeck of thy tongue and larynx, and seek the delicious juices of fishes, the marrow of the laborious ox, the tender lard of Apulian swine, and the condited bellies of the scarus,' and speaks of desiring 'to have the wealth of Susa, or garments stained with the blood of the Tyrian fish, or to feed like Philoxenus, or to have tables loaden like the boards of Vitellius.' It is not to much purpose that he tells an English congregation, speaking of the somewhat more delicate food which is necessary for the mental activity of the student, that 'neither will the pulse and the leeks, Lavinian sausages and the Cisalpine suckets or gobbets of condited bull's flesh, minister such delicate spirits to the thinking man.' In a very remarkable description of the Last Judgment, there shall come together, he says, 'all kingdoms of all ages, all the armies that ever mustered, all the world that Augustus Cæsar taxed, all those hundreds of

\* 'Thalaba,' Book viii. st. 17.

millions that were slain in all the Roman wars, from Numa's time till Italy was broken into principalities and small exarchates.\* It seems to us a perversity to spoil a striking passage with those 'principalities and small exarchates:' they add nothing to the picture; on the contrary, they draw off the attention from the thronging multitudes to the curious nicety of the describer. And such instances as these are not isolated; we can hardly read a discourse without finding its solemnity marred here and there by illustrations which remind us rather too forcibly of the ingenuity and learning of the preacher.

The truth is, we are afraid we must needs confess it, that Taylor's 'linked sweetness long drawn out' tends here and there to mawkishness: the banquet of sweets is too much for us; we long for plain wholesome fare. And this tendency is very much increased by the preacher's singular want of humour. We may perhaps do him injustice: his face might perhaps have suggested his perception of the ludicrous side of some passages in his sermons, if we could have seen him deliver them; but whatever the subject, he never smiles at us from the printed page. In the peroration of the 'Holy Dying,' where he is dissuading us from excessive grief at the death of friends, he does not seem to perceive the exquisite incongruity of that choice story from Petronius about the Ephesian widow who was so remarkably consoled, though he tells it in a manner not unworthy of Boccaccio. He illustrates the folly of a rash marriage by the following apologue:—

'The stags in the Greek Epigram, whose knees were clogged with frozen snow upon the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys, hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the stream; but there the frost overtook them, and bound them fast in ice, till the young herdsmen took them in their stranger snare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniences upon the mountains of single life, they descend into the valleys of marriage to refresh their troubles; and there they enter into fetters, and are bound to sorrow by the cords of a man's or woman's peevishness.'

His manner betrays here no sense of drollery; and yet his audience must have been made of sterner stuff than we are if they did not smile at this quaint description of the unfortunate case of those who rush from the ills of celibacy to 'others that they know not of.'

Yet this want of humour was not incompatible with a great power of sarcasm; in the 'Dissuasive from Popery,' in particular, he directs against certain practices of the Roman Church and its

\* 'Christ's Advent,' Sermon I. s. 1. He was fond of these 'exarchates.' In the 'Holy Dying' (ch. I. sec. iv. s. 4) he speaks of the ants dividing their little mole-hills into provinces and exarchates. Here, however, the big word contrasts well with the little subject; we feel the ants' assumption of dignity.

various orders a sarcastic irony not unworthy to be compared with Pascal's. And if in his stately solemnity Taylor sometimes indulges in overmuch amplification, he shows himself nevertheless, upon occasion, a master of terse, vigorous, vernacular phraseology. His controversial treatises are not written in the florid style of his sermons; in truth, nothing is more remarkable than the instinctive tact with which he adapts the style to the subject, though, no doubt, his strain is always pitched in a key somewhat too high for modern ears. Nor does his exuberant fancy preclude the exercise of remarkable keenness and subtlety. Mr. Hallam thought that Taylor could never have made a great lawyer. We are by no means of his opinion. The author of the '*Ductor Dubitantium*' might surely have been a great equity lawyer; and both his excellencies and his defects fitted him for the profession of an advocate. For he is always rather rhetorician than philosopher; he does not reason up to his conclusions; he takes a proposition and defends it by ingenious arguments; and he shows great skill in discovering and attacking the weak points in his opponent's case. When we add to these qualifications his power of 'getting up' a subject and of finding apt language and ready illustration, we surely have before us the very ideal of a successful candidate for the highest honours of the bar. But we believe that a genuine vocation brought Taylor into the ranks of the priesthood; he could not have borne to waste his splendid powers on fines and recoveries, or in making the worse appear the better reason; his arguments may sometimes be rather specious than sound, but they are always employed in favour of what he believed to be just, and true, and noble.

His great defect is a certain want of masculine firmness and vigour; his intellect and fancy are dominant over his will. Hence, we sometimes desiderate a greater force of rough moral indignation; he disapproves rather than condemns; he rather shows the ugliness of evil than dashes it from him as a twining monster; perhaps he hardly knew it nearly enough to be really moved to loathe its deformity. Where Milton would thunder and South would spurn, Taylor deprecates. But, apart from this cardinal defect, how noble is his character! He is unstained, so far as we know, by any suspicion of intrigue or meanness; his personal sweetness and attractiveness seem to have been as manifest as Shakspeare's; we can well imagine the gentler spirits of a disturbed time joyfully adopting him as a 'ghostly father.' As long, probably, as Englishmen retain a taste for elevated thought, pure aspiration, and quaint imagery clothed in rich and ornate diction, so long will Jeremy Taylor retain his high place in our literature.

- ART. V.—1. *Die Lehre der Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik.* Von H. Helmholtz, Professor der Physiologie an der Universität zu Heidelberg. Brunswick, 1865.
2. *Histoire générale de la Musique.* Tomes I. II. Par F. J. Fétis. Paris, 1869.
3. *Philosophie de la Musique.* Par Charles Beauquier. Paris, 1866.
4. *History of Modern Music.* By John Hullah. London, 1862.
5. *A Course of Lectures on the Transition Period of Musical History.* By John Hullah. 1865.

‘NEITHER the enjoyment nor the capacity of producing musical notes are faculties of the least direct use to man in reference to his ordinary habits of life.’ So says Mr. Darwin;\* and yet, a little further on, we read:—‘I conclude that musical notes and rhythm were first acquired by the male or female progenitor of mankind for the sake of charming the opposite sex.’ We may leave the reader to reconcile these two ingenious statements, the last of which seems to be in contradiction to the first. To ‘charm the opposite sex’ is surely now, as it has ever been, one of the most ‘ordinary habits’ of man, and we ought to admit that if the ‘capacity of producing musical notes’ is calculated to help him in this arduous undertaking, then this ‘capacity’ is of some ‘direct use’ to him. That music has a great many other uses, it is our object on the present occasion to prove: meanwhile, we have quoted the above statements, not because they appear to be in one respect contradictory, but because in them we have the latest scientific testimony concerning the uselessness and the usefulness of music.

The origin of Vocal music has been the subject of much conjecture. Whether we think, with Mr. Darwin, that music was developed from cadences used to charm the opposite sex and expressive of strong emotion; or, with Mr. Herbert Spencer, that music was developed from the cadences of emotional speech—whether speech preceded music, or music preceded speech—is of little importance to our present inquiry; in either case, the Singing Art would have to be traced to one and the same root, viz. the vocal expression of emotion through sound. The famous hairy creature with a tail and pointed ears may have been the first distinguished vocalist, for aught we know—at all events, we are not in a position to dispute the fact.

The origin of Instrumental music is not far to seek. We need hardly quarrel with the mythic account. Very likely, the

\* ‘Descent of Man,’ vol. ii. p. 233.



wind blowing into broken reeds as they stood up stiffly in some low marsh-land or river may have suggested the first rude Pan-pipe, of which the flute would be a later modification. Dried sea-weed, stretched on rocks or shells, may possibly have been the primitive *Æolian* lyre, from whence came the harp and guitar. The clapping of hands, or the knocking of two bits of stick together, may have suggested the numerous drum tribe, from whence would come, in due time, every variety of percussion instrument. It is true, when we think of a percussion instrument like the grand piano-forte as derived from knocking two bits of sticks together, or an Erard harp as descended from sea-weed fibres stretched on rocks, or the Crystal Palace organ as having originally come from a few rotten reeds blown upon by the fitful wind, the missing links seem innumerable, but a musical Darwin would make very light of the difficulty; and, indeed, the difference between Nature's musical instruments and the latest attempts of man in a similar direction is not nearly so great as the difference between that early *Ascidian* from which the progenitors of man are said to be descended and the highest, not to say the lowest, representative of man with which we are acquainted.

We need hardly have recourse to the Egyptian or Assyrian monuments to prove the immense antiquity of wind instruments. In one of the tombs at Poitiers, Dr. Cannes, of Paris, and M. Lartet have discovered an undoubted flute, belonging, in all appearance, to the later stone period, and at all events pre-historic. M. Fétis, in his 'History of Music,' gives an exact representation of it. It is made out of a bit of stag's horn, and lay surrounded by flint arrowheads and other stone implements. Another excellent flute, of reindeer's bone, four holes, and a blow-pipe—incontestably a flute and nothing but a flute—was found by M. Lartet in a cave, amongst the bones of extinct races of animals.

Nearly three thousand years before the Christian era the first Emperor of China, Fo-hi, is said to have invented the stringed instrument called *kin*, which consists of a strip of wood, over which silken cords are stretched. The *kin* is laid on a table, and played like the modern *cither*, with the fingers of both hands: its sound was held in China to calm the passions and inspire the mind with virtuous sentiments.

Percussion instruments, such as drums, sonorous bits of wood or metal struck with hammers, are the most universal of all instruments. The shock produced by them upon the rude nervous system is found most useful in promoting a kind of frenzied ardour for battle; nor is it less favourable to the paroxysms of  
ascetic

ascetic devotion common amongst uncultured races. Most pagan gods are supposed to be delighted with the noise produced by yelling, clapping, and banging gongs about; and amongst savage tribes, sacrifices and religious ceremonies are usually accompanied by percussion instruments of every description. Most savages are deeply alive to the charms of accentuated rhythm, expressed by a hammering on drums. The tribes of Central Africa have a habit of stringing half-a-dozen drums between two poles, and strumming six at a time, whilst an ebony enthusiast stands opposite this demoniac orchestra to mark the rhythm.

It is impossible to say when stringed instruments played with bows were first invented. Some such instrument has been known in India from time immemorial; it is also to be found amongst many savage tribes, and, although apparently unknown to the Greeks, or rejected by them as too barbarous, some kind of bowed instrument appears, from a very early period, to have been known to the Northern races of Europe.

Now, regarding as we do all the above methods of howling, blowing, twanging, and hammering—in other words, all deliberate attempts to express emotion through sound, as so many rough elements of music—we may fairly affirm that the art of producing musical sounds is the most ancient and universal of all the arts. It is the most ancient, because, according to Mr. Darwin, it is a quality common to the animal creation as well as to the earliest races of mankind; and it is the most universal, because we can find no race, ancient or modern, which has been entirely without it.

Hitherto we have spoken of all kinds of sound as musical; but it would be more correct to say that most of the sounds found in nature, or used by savages, are the mere rough materials out of which musical notes have to be manufactured. It is true that any noise acts, in some way or other, upon the emotions by setting the auditory nerves in vibration; but for the purposes of musical art we must select only those kinds of sound, those forms of vibration, which possess certain properties of pitch, intensity, and quality.

First, then, what constitutes PITCH? When we speak of the pitch of a note, we mean that the sonorous body or instrument from which it comes is vibrating so many times a second. These vibratory movements are communicated to the air, and the air communicates them, through the elastic pressure of its waves, to the complex system of fibres stretched upon the drum of the ear, which collects them for transmission, through a winding labyrinth, to the auditory nerve, from which they are passed on to the brain. But the perceptive powers of the human

ear are limited. No sound can be heard if the vibrations are too slow, or less than four or five (or, according to M. Savart, six or seven) to the second; or too quick, that is to say, more than 67,000 to the second. Shrill sounds of 30,000 are very unpleasant; but cats and other animals, whose ears are in some respects more highly organised than ours, can hear many sounds inaudible to human beings. As to pitch, then, the limits of musical sound will be within about six octaves.

Secondly, what constitutes INTENSITY? As pitch is regulated by the number, so intensity is regulated by the force of the vibrations. This force is communicated to the air, and the air-waves produce, in proportion to their force, a greater or less degree of tension in the membrane of the tympanum. A very feeble sound is not sufficient to make the tympanum vibrate at all, and a very violent one—such as the explosion of a cannon—sometimes cracks it; and thus it is no mere metaphor to speak of the drum of the ear being broken. The intensity of musical sound will, therefore, be found to lie in the mean between the too feeble and the too forcible.

Thirdly, what constitutes QUALITY? The quality or *timbre* of a sound, i. e., the quality which makes the difference between the same note played on a flute or on a violin, depends neither upon the force nor on the rapidity of the vibrations in the instrument—in the air—in the ear. Upon what, then, does this all-important attribute of sound depend? We must try and imagine a vibrating body, such as the back of a violin or the tube of a diapason, to consist (as is actually the case) of a vast number of lines distributed in a vast number of different layers of matter. All bodies are composed of such countless different molecules, arranged in layers and packed in different degrees of density. When we set our board, violin, or organ-pipe in vibration, these molecules begin to move; some vibrate feebly, some strongly, whilst certain others remain at rest. By strewing sand on the back of a violin whilst in vibration, or affixing a pencil to an organ-pipe, the form of the vibrations representing the disturbance of the molecules may in either case be obtained in lines. These lines then indicate the different arrangement of the molecules of matter in violin, wood, or organ-pipe, which yield a different order of molecular vibration, and transmit to the air differently formed waves, and consequently a different stroke and quality of sound to the ear.

We have now refined our rough element of sound by determining its pitch, its intensity, and pointing to the existence of various qualities or *timbres*; but we have yet to distinguish properly between musical sound and Noise.

M. Beauquier

M. Beauquier gives the following explanation of the difference between noise and musical sound.

A true note, or musical sound, contains in itself a third, a fifth, and an octave. In addition to the fundamental note, a cultivated ear will be able, under certain experimental conditions, to recognise these other three, like faint musical emanations. These three are called the fundamental harmonics of a note, and every sound is thus complex, just as white light is complex, containing within itself what may be called the three harmonical colours, blue, red, and yellow. Now, when the ear receives one distinct sound, and the accessory harmonics are at the same time of very faint intensity and very high in pitch, then we have a pure or clear musical sound called a note; but when the accessory or harmonical sounds are so loud, confused, and so near to the fundamental note that we have difficulty in separating between them and the note itself, then we have the negation of musical sound—that is to say, *noise*. The Chinese gong is an admirable example of unmusical sound, or noise, and a well-tuned kettle-drum is almost as good an example of a true musical note.

But when we have thus manufactured our materials we have not arranged them. We have got the threads, but we have not woven them into any fabric—we have not invented any pattern—we have not given them any form—we have not created any work of art. We might as well give a man a bundle of coloured threads, and expect him without machine or instruction to produce an Indian shawl, as give him musical notes without teaching him the secret of the scale, or of symmetrical arrangement, and expect him to produce melody and harmony. We are still a long way off from what we call music.

Now before we enter upon any further account of the rise and progress of the musical art, the question naturally arises, What claims has it upon our attention? What wants does it meet? Why is it worth studying?

We might point to the fact that people nowadays spend much time and money upon music. But why do they do so? Because it gives them very keen enjoyment. Why does it give them enjoyment? what is the enjoyment worth? Is it pleasure and nothing more, or is it pleasure and something besides? What right have we to speak of Beethoven in the same breath with Goethe? In what sense is the musical composer a teacher or an intellectual and moral benefactor? All such questions, and many more like them, which are asked more frequently than they are answered, may be summed up in a single sentence,—What is the dignity of the musical art? To this question we hope to give some definite reply.

Speaking

Speaking generally, all the arts may be said to have arisen out of a certain instinct, which impels us to make an appeal to the senses, by expressing our thoughts and emotions in some external form. When a man is haunted by the beauty of the outer world, when he has been for a time purely receptive, watching the light upon summer fields or through netted branches, or at evening the floods of liquid fire that come rolling towards him upon the bosom of the sea, at last before his closed eyes in the dreams of the night there arises within him the vision of an earth, and sky, and sea even more fair than these; and seizing his palette and canvas in the morning, he endeavours to fix the impalpable images which have almost pained his heart with their oppressive loveliness. Who can look at some of Turner's pictures, and see there 'the sunshine of sunshine and the gloom of gloom,' without feeling that the picture stands for the deliverance of a soul's burden? It is its own justification. No one asks first why it gives us joy, or why it is so good; that questioning may come afterwards and may have to be answered, but our uppermost thoughts are such as these:—'I, too, have had such visions, but never till now have they lived and moved before me: henceforth their life is doubled because revealed; their beauty is painless because possessed: now that I have prisoned this fleeting memory, it is mine for ever—*κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*. In freeing his own soul the painter, the orator, the poet has freed mine; I shall not suffer in this direction from the void and the agony of the unattained, for it is there worked out for me and for all men to rejoice in and to love.' Therefore the great justification of all art is simply this—that all life tends to outward expression, and becomes rich in proportion to the degree and perfection with which it is mastered inwardly and realised outwardly.

It is evident that the artistic instinct is involved in the constitution of our nature, and only waits for the peculiar times and seasons favourable to each of its several developments. Hence in all sorts of ages and countries we find traces of the arts, but only in certain countries and at certain epochs the full development of any. The seed of a political system, of a religious creed, or of a new art, may lie long in the fallow ground of history, waiting for the mysterious and happy combination of circumstances necessary to its special development. By and by this nation will be ready for such a government; and that form of government, which may have tried in vain to spring up before, will then rise. Such has been the history of representative government in England. By and by a nation will feel the need of a new intellectual form for its religion; and then,

then, and not before, will the new system prevail. Such has been the history of the Protestant Reformation. By and by the æsthetic and imaginative impulses of a people will demand a certain appropriate channel of expression; and then the art which can best express the imperative mood of the popular life is certain to spring up. That is the history of all Literatures, and also of the directly sensuous arts of Sculpture in Greece, of Gothic Architecture in modern Europe, of Painting in Italy, and, finally, of Modern Music in Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, and England. Each art has been strikingly appropriate to its own age, and each art has more or less exhausted the impulses which it was destined to express. We will now endeavour to show the real position and speciality of music amongst the arts, by a general glance at some of the art developments of the past.

No doubt the art of sculpture existed in a rude form amongst those Eastern nations from which Greece derived the germs of all that she ever possessed. Yet we do not admit any high development of sculpture to have taken place before the period of Grecian art, or about B.C. 500; nor do we venture to say that the works of Phidias and Praxiteles have ever been surpassed. The fact is, that sculpture was the art which rendered concrete, or gave outward expression to, the Greek's highest idea of what was desirable and excellent in life. He was passionately enamoured of the external world. Beauty had no hidden meaning for him; the incompleteness or insufficiency of life never occurred to him; there seemed no moral, no aspiration written upon the face of man or nature: hence he loved outline better than colour, and cared more for form than for expression. His life was exceedingly simple; his intellect remarkably clear and active and subtle; he lived much out in the open air, gossiping incessantly, learned a little Homer and a few lyrics, sometimes peeped into a work of Anaxagoras or Zeno, at other times amused himself with the disputations of the Sophists, or listened to the orators in the Agora. But whatever else he did, his body was his first care. The staple of his education consisted in gymnastic exercises and the cultivation of rhythm as applied to motion. His greatest admiration was lavished upon a beautiful human body, and in Greece there was never the slightest difficulty in studying the human form divine. What every one was proud of, every one was prone to exhibit; and what was universally exhibited and admired naturally became the object of the most elaborate and successful cultivation. Hence Greece, in her eager simplicity, her exquisite perception, her naïve enjoyment of life, and her material prosperity,

prosperity, found an appropriate expression for her ideal in the Art of Sculpture.

If we glance at Rome in her best days, we shall hardly be surprised to find that she had no original leanings in the direction of the sensuous arts. The art expression, if such it can be called, of her ideal is to be found in the Justinian code. Her notion of life was not beauty, but law, in its most prosaic aspects: stern patriotism, regulated by military despotism; stern justice, regulated by civil law. She had no time to design her own public buildings; she borrowed the designs from Greece. Her statues and her ornaments, when not actually made by degenerate Athenians, were but the cold parodies of Grecian art. It was not until centuries later, when the old Empire had been split up into a thousand fragments, that a new and genuine art began to arise in Italy,—but an art responsive to a new age, and to an utterly changed state of political life and religious feeling. We allude, of course, to the Art of Painting, which culminated in the sixteenth century in the schools of Padua, Venice, Umbria, Verona, Bologna, Sienna, Florence, and Rome.

But there is one growing characteristic of the art of the new world after Christ as contrasted with the art of the old world before Christ, which it is highly important for our present purpose to notice. That characteristic is its ever-increasing tendency to express *complex emotion*. The Greek schools which succeeded Phidias indeed supply numerous expressions of suffering, such as the Laocoon; action, such as the Discobolos; and occasionally some simple and strong emotion, such as the Niobe.

But even in the post-Phidian period, when emotion is expressed at all, it is usually of a simple and direct kind; the fever of the new world had not yet set in. Upon the religions of the past the accumulated moral influences and religious feelings which we are in the habit of expressing by the one word Christianity, broke like a second flood, submerging the old philosophies and the old faiths. The rise of that tide was irresistible, and it brought with it the elements of a new ideal life, in violent antagonism to the traditions of many an earlier civilization. Thanks to this antagonism, which drew hard and fast the line between the Church and the world, the emotional life of the early Christians was also simple and strong. Missionary work afforded an ample and sufficient outlet for feeling; there was little time for anything else. The New Church shrank from Heathen art, as the Jews had shrunk from Egyptian images; and although a reformed Orpheus cropped up later in the character of the Good Shepherd, preference was given to mere symbols,  
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and only a few coarse representations of Christ, His apostles or His miracles, were allowed to grace a religion which was intended to appeal to the spirit more than to the senses. Then, when the Christian seed had been sown throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, the beginning of the end drew nigh; and we have heard to satiety how the Gothic hordes came down from the Northern Alps upon the plains of Italy, and how the worn-out organization of the Empire fell like an avalanche before the breath of spring. But the imperial sceptre had only passed from the Emperor to the Bishop of Rome, and it was under the timidly admitted presidency of the Pope that the Christian Church first stepped forward as the inspired guide, ready to reduce to order the confused life and weld together in new combinations the heterogeneous elements of the old and the new worlds.

The rise of the Roman Church and the rise of the nations of modern Europe after the death of Charlemagne (814) gave birth to what we call the modern spirit, which is emphatically the spirit of a complex emotional life. In Italy, after the close of the ninth century, the stiff forms of Byzantine art had entirely ceased to have any charm for a nation distracted with wars, and in the eleventh century Italian art had reached its lowest condition.

But another art had already begun to assert itself in France, in Germany, and in England—an art which, taking its rise amongst the masonic guilds, found its perfection in the cloister, yet mingled freely with the world, and became in a remarkable degree the monumental expression of its ‘lights and shadows, all the wealth and all the woe.’ Gothic architecture received some of its finest developments at the hands of priests, but the Gothic temples were the darlings of the people and became the models of popular architecture for the nation. Into them, as we can see to this day, were woven the miseries and the joys, the wild fancies, the morbid tendencies, and the confused aspirations of a spiritual faith, struggling with new and untried aspects of social and political life. It is unnecessary to describe all that the Gothic architecture of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries strove to express. How highly emotional it became they know who have marked the faces that peep out between the network of leaves or clustering fruit in florid architrave and capital. When the art began to lose all temperance, and assumed wild and flamboyant forms, it was simply because the artist was in despair at not being able to transcend the plastic limits of his material—to express the varied emotions which were daily becoming more numerous and more oppressive, and  
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which neither stone-carving nor any other known medium could suffice to express. But a more highly emotional art was already preparing to take its place—the art of Italian painting—which, beginning with Cimabue (born 1240), gradually rose along with the decline of Gothic art until, with the successors of Titian and Tintoret, that too had exhausted its emotional functions and began to decline along with the rise and sudden ascendancy of the latest and most perfect art-medium of emotion—MODERN Music.

There never was a time in the history of the world when life was so rapid and human emotion so complex as it has become during the last three centuries. The printing press, the discovery of America, the increase of commerce, the general circulation of thought, have given rise to abnormal combinations and changes of which the old world never dreamed. This has generated a peculiarly restless and feverish temperament of life. Can we wonder that art should try to keep pace with these developments—that in its own region, that of the emotions, it should twist stone into every conceivable shape, and then cast it aside as inadequate; then seize upon colour, and after depicting through its aid every possible scene capable of exciting the imagination, still pine for some more complete expressional medium? And now what more could be done by art than Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, had accomplished? What still cried out for direct expression which they had not been able directly to express? Something there was in those independent states of consciousness generated within the mind—something there was in what we call emotion, and especially complex emotion—which called for direct expression, and which found it not in carved stone or limited canvas. What was that something? In a word, it was *Movement* or *Velocity*. That is a fundamental property of all emotion. There was no direct expression for that in sculpture, or architecture, or painting: the stone did not move; the scene on canvas, however excited, required an effort of the imagination before it became a thing of motion; the battle raging on canvas was an æsthetic fiction—it acted upon that inner movement of the mind, which is so fundamental a property of emotion, not directly but only through the imagination; the colours did not change; the canvas was as still as the stone. For a perfect emotional art actual velocity was indispensable, and it is the addition of this one property which the art of music alone possesses in combination with all the other properties of emotion that makes music the supreme art-medium of emotion.

One thoughtful glance is sufficient to show us that the rough elements of emotion and the rough elements of musical sound have

have all the common properties which fit them for meeting upon a common ground and for acting upon each other.

Emotion is never long at the same level ; it has its *elations* and *depressions*. Sound, as manipulated by the art of music, has its *elations* and *depressions*—musical notes go up and down in the scale.

Emotion has various *intensities*. Musical notes, as has been seen, directly communicate various *intensities* of sound to the drum of the ear ; music has its *ff* and *pp*, its *crescendos* and *diminuendos*, its loud and soft combinations of instruments.

The progressive steps in a continued state of emotion have something like *form* ; they can be arranged ; they have a beginning, a development, an end, or, at all events, somewhere a transition to a different region of feeling altogether. Music has a *form*, obvious even to the eye ; the notes indicate a theme or subject which is developed and brought to a close ; the words *unity*, *proportion*, *development*, are sufficiently familiar to all readers in connection with music.

The meeting of two or more emotions—such, for instance, as is the case when we pass out of a dark room into the light, or when we hear a sudden burst of laughter in the midst of intense grief—these are simple enough forms of complex emotion ; but in all complex emotion we get simultaneous *variety*. Need we say how wonderfully harmony in music, even a simple chord, possesses the property of such simultaneous *variety* ?

And lastly, the progress of emotion is fast or slow ; at all events, it is incessantly beating out time with every pulse and throb of the blood ; in other words, it has its *velocity* : and this is the important quality which makes the ‘Sound Art,’ of all arts hitherto discovered, the great medium for the expression and for the generation of emotion, simple or complex. No outward presentation of scene or action is needed, as in the drama—no aid from imagination, as in painting or sculpture—in order to supply velocity or movement. The sound vibrates directly upon the drum of the ear ; the auditory nerve receives pulse after pulse, and transmits it to the emotional region of the brain. Emotions, simple or complex, are thus generated directly and physically by the power of sound, without the aid of imagery or thought ; and, again, emotions already working in the brain find relief in the sort of outward and concrete expression which the art of music procures for them.

If, then, at this stage of our disquisition it be asked what is the use of music, we ask in reply, What is the use of stimulating, regulating, and disciplining the emotions ? What is the use of providing for them a psycho-physical outlet, when they  
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are excited or roused? Music excites, expresses, regulates, and relieves the life of emotion. These are its functions and these are its uses. Life is rich almost in proportion to the fulness of its emotional activity. As a physical fact, music re-creates exhausted emotion by nerve currents generated through direct vibration of the nervous tissues; and by the same means music arouses and cultivates emotion into its highest activity. Again, life is noble almost in proportion to the strength and balance of emotion. Control of emotional activity is as essential to worthy life as the abundance of emotion. Noble music possesses this power of controlling and disciplining emotion to a consummate degree. The notion that music is only intended to please and tickle the ear is a notion worthy of a savage. To listen to a symphony of Beethoven is not all amusement. The emotions aroused are steadily put through definite stages, just as definite and just as salutary to the realm of feeling, just as well calculated to bring it into discipline and obedience, as the athlete's progressive exercises are calculated to strengthen and discipline the muscles of the body. The emotions are not allowed to run wild. The music, if we put ourselves to the strain of following it, checks them here, rouses them there, holds them as it were in suspension, gives them a fair vent at times, shows them the way out of unrest into rest, and out of varied and apparently inconsistent states of discord to harmonious development and unity. The mere intellectual task of appreciating the technical form and excellence of a truly great musical work or Tone-Poem is no light one, but it is a highly refining one. Nevertheless, the intellect in music must be held subordinate to the plain purpose of elaborating schemes of complex and simple emotions: it is this power which raises music, through, but beyond, connection with the senses, into a moral agent.

That all music is not of this kind, is not calculated to stimulate and arrange the emotions beneficially, may be taken to be a self-evident fact. Much of Italian and French music is so wedded to languishing sentiment or absolute frivolity that the best-disposed musician cannot treat it *au sérieux*, as the presentation of emotion in any salutary or re-creative order. Place any Italian love-song by the side of one of Schubert's Romances, and the emotional difference will be apparent to any one at all capable of enjoying music. The Italian view of love and the German view of love are well represented in the different emotional atmospheres of Italian and German songs. The music of Italy expresses passion without restraint; and then follows of necessity sentiment vamped up with artificial shocks and thrills to supply the place of exhausted passion. That, with all its exquisite gift of melody, with all its  
cunning

cunning appropriation of melting, though limited, harmonies, is the morale of modern Italian music:—of course we do not allude to the great schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

But when we pass to Germany, we have to come to the 'true and tender North.' Life is there no dream on a Venetian balcony, love is there no short-lived rapture of summer days and starry nights; but 'life is real, life is earnest,' and love is of such fabric as will last out a lifetime and be true to the end; and, therefore, there must be restraint and economy of passion, there must be the middle tints as well as the glowing lights, there must be midnight watches as well as noonday dreams. Parting must be real pain, and meeting must be real rapture: the fount is so full, there is no need of pumping up sentiment; the life is a life within as well as a life without: and hence the German music is not dependent upon external scenes or exciting stories; it can be cast in the mould of opera, but it can also do without it: above all, it can play upon the whole key-board of existence, instead of confining itself to a few tragic octaves of passion; it can carry out symphonies as well as operas, and can make songs for every event and preludes and sonatas for every phase of feeling—from its most glacial intensities to its most glowing heats—and for every gradation of delicate emotion which may lie between the two.

Much more might be advanced in support of the moral and emotional functions of music, but we trust enough has been suggested to vindicate the almost passionate conviction of thoughtful musicians, that music is more than a pastime; that it holds a distinct, a legitimate, and clearly defined position amongst the arts; and that it is capable of exercising the most powerful and beneficial, as well as the most delightful, influences upon the cultured few and upon the uncultured many.

We shall now glance rapidly at the dawn of the great Sound Art of modern music.

It may be a relief to the reader to be told at once that he need not trouble himself about the music of the Greeks, the Hebrews, or the peoples of Asia and Africa. The traditions about Greek music contributed a little towards the formation of the modern art, and a great deal towards its hindrance. Those who have studied the subject have come to the conclusion that Greek music, with all its apparatus of modes and rhythms, was nothing but a kind of monotonous intoning, accompanied by various instruments, which served to emphasize the time and movement of the intoned or spoken cadences. No doubt the poetry of motion was much more studied and much better understood by the Greeks than by us, and Greek pipes and lyres were copiously

copiously employed in regulating, by gradations of sound and complicated intervals of time, the action of all who wished to excel in the Greek games, or take part in any public performance. Instruments were, no doubt, of the greatest use to the gymnast; but the recitative or Greek melody must after all have been but a lame accessory to Greek poetry and declamation. Of Greek harmony there is not a trace.

It is very improbable that the music of the Hebrews, or that of any of the highly civilized nations of antiquity, differed materially from that of the Greeks. We may get some idea of Greek, and probably Hebrew, intoning from the extant Gregorian chants, although of course Gregorian is a vague term which covers all sorts of modern adaptations. St. Ambrose, about A.D. 374, notoriously founded his new church music at Milan on a few of the Greek scales; and St. Gregory, about 590, who revived as much as he could find of the Ambrosian music, simply gave his name to Gregorian chants which had been in use long before his time. Hucbald, a Belgian monk about 920, has left a musical treatise, in which we may see how far music had got in his day. Up to that time we find no bars, no flats or sharps indicated, and no time; we might add, no harmony, for the diaphony employed by him is to our ears most terrible discord. Let us fancy any melody harmonized with the assistance of an eighth above or below, or with the fourth above or the fifth below. It is fair to add that this music was executed by singing the top and bottom lines soft, and the middle or principal melody loud. We need hardly say that the notion of playing two different notes in successive harmony to one of longer duration, or the art of *descant*, had not yet occurred to any one. In Hucbald's harmony all the notes played together are of the same length, so that we have chords of consecutive fifths and fourths and so on. The inventions attributed to Guido of Arezzo are without number, and perhaps it is impossible now to determine precisely what he really did or did not invent. It is safer to say that he adopted a system of notation, which enabled his pupils to connect written notes with sounds much more easily than before, and hence gave an enormous impulse to the study of music throughout ecclesiastical Europe. There can be no doubt that Greek traditions still hung like lead about the neck of church music. In many respects the productions of secular musicians, the songs of *jougleurs* and the *troubadours*, were in advance of the monks, simply because they were unshackled by any respect for, or even knowledge of, Greek models. Who can tell how the rise of harmony was retarded by such a Greek dictum as that a *third*, the most agreeable

agreeable of intervals, is inadmissible? Such rules were doubtless disregarded by the wild players at fairs and tourneys; indeed, it was their rude instruments which in all probability first opened up the mystery of sweet chords, for many of their bowed viols of six or more strings were so constructed that it was next to impossible to play upon one string without sounding some of the others; and as the player had only his own ears to consult, he doubtless stumbled upon many combinations that he practised habitually, but was either too ignorant or too lazy to record.

Thus, like so many great movements, modern music was in the air, and yet year after year its development was suspended. The monks were beating about the bush, blinded by a false system; the jongleurs went their own way without any system at all. But certain discoveries had not only to be stumbled upon, but to be recognized and formulated, before the foundations of the real art of modern music, as we have it, could be laid. The first and greatest of these discoveries was the discovery of a scale system or tonality, based on natural laws and a symmetrical division of the octave. All that could be done without our modern fixed system of tonality was done between the great Gallo-Belgian, Josquin des Pres, at the beginning of what Mr. Hullah calls the Second Period of Music, or about 1400, and Palestrina at the end of that same period, about 1600. And it is remarkable how often, by following the inspirations of natural instinct, the combinations of both these great men leave the impression of a fixed tonality upon the ear, although it was not yet generally accepted.

The old masters would begin a scale on any one of the eight notes of the octave, their intervals of tones and semitones would be in different places in each scale, and thus leave upon our ears the impression of an unfinished scale. The modern scales are all complete, because, although begun on different notes, the semitones fall in the same places in each scale. Each major has a minor, but in each minor the semitones also fall in the same places. In each major the semitones fall between the third and fourth sound; in each minor they fall between the second and third sound. This, and the consequent discovery of what is called the *perfect cadence*, or the discord of the dominant seventh and its resolution, which was once considered monstrous, but which has now become the most common of all modulations,—these two discoveries, and the new laws which they reveal, form at length the firm natural and scientific basis of our modern music.

One great name stands out as the genius that presided over these new and startling developments; it is that of Carissimi, 1581—1672.

1585—1672. 'This great man has been called the very type of the Transition Period, that bridge over which we pass from the old tonality to the new, or from ancient to modern music. Carissimi might have seen Palestrina, and he lived to hear Corelli. The germs of every style of music known since arose during his lifetime—he witnessed, as Mr. Hullah points out, the bloom and gradual decay of the madrigal in England and Germany, the birth and adolescence of the musical drama in France under Lulli, the invention of the oratorio in the oratory of San Filippo Neri at Rome, and lastly the rise and progress of instrumental music as an independent branch of art.

We have now fairly launched the reader into the ocean of Modern Music. It would be quite beyond our present purpose to follow its rise and progress in France, Italy, and Germany. We have said enough to show that it is not a revival of any old art, but essentially a new art with recently discovered principles, and unique capacities for the direct expression of emotion. It may now be interesting to inquire—1st, how far England is or ever has been a musical country; 2nd, how musical culture may be improved and extended in this country; and lastly we may point to some of the more popular and practical, or, as Mr. Darwin would say, 'direct uses' of music 'to man in reference to his ordinary habits of life.'

Great and laudable exertions have from time to time been made by English writers to show that the English possess a real and not a borrowed genius for music; that they have originated great improvements, such as harmony and counterpoint, and invented new forms, such as the glee and madrigal, or at least been the first to bring these to perfection. Further on, Purcell and Pelham Humphrey are quoted; and after them—well, then, of course, there is a pause, and we take refuge in old English songs of doubtful origin, for all attempts to prove the existence of a real English school of music for the last 200 years must of course fail.

About 1400 the complex elements which have entered into the composition of England may be said to have been fairly welded together into a kind of national life; at all events we can then speak of the English people with some degree of correctness, and examine their tastes, their pursuits, and their industries as natural products. There can be no doubt that about the year 1400 an English name, that of John Dunstable, stands out and represents a great musical force in this country. Yet there is no reason to suppose that he invented anything essentially new, or that he did more than systematize the musical movement then going on in Belgium under Dufay, who was born forty years before,

before, and who carried counterpoint to Rome at the close of the thirteenth century.

Then, in speaking of English church music, it is impossible to forget that all its early rudiments and developments came over with the Christian Church from Italy. St. Ambrose, and after him St. Gregory, whose influence in England is sufficiently notorious, put their stamp indelibly upon the earliest chants; whilst such men as Hucbald, Guido of Arezzo (1050), and Franco of Cologne reduced the still confused notation to some sort of order. If, then, we suppose the English nation to date from about 1400, or even somewhat earlier, chronology itself forbids the supposition of England having contributed to the invention of church music, because it had already been invented by Italy. We are aware that a good deal has been made of the alleged fact that Alfred the Great, in 866, instituted a musical professorship at Oxford; but unfortunately we have no proof of the existence of the University till the twelfth century. Also the origination of part-singing has been claimed for the inhabitants of these isles on the strength of a statement that Hereward and his sons sang in three parts at the bridal feast of a Cornish king. In 1159 we hear of part-singing in connection with the choirs which accompanied Thomas à Becket to Paris; and in 1250 the six men's song, 'Sumer is a cumen in,' has been quoted *ad nauseam* to prove how far the secular music was in advance of the sacred music of the period. In all this there may be some truth. We have no doubt that many chords were discovered and played on popular instruments, such as the crotch, of which the Church took no account; but when we hear of three-part songs, we must know wherein they were supposed to differ from the barbarous diaphony in Hucbald's 'Musica Enchiriadis,' which dates as far back as 932, and where we find real harmony, as in 'Sumer is a cumen in,' we must remember that the art of descant was known in the Church as early as 1150, or at least a hundred years before the date ascribed to that famous song. As to the popular music in vogue here in the fourteenth century at fairs and tournaments, no one can doubt where that came from. It came from Provence, Northern France, and Belgium. In 1400 an immense romantic and poetical literature already existed, and the *trouveres* were all over Europe.

Later on, as regards the essentially foreign origin of all the forms of modern music, we cannot do better than quote the following succinct statement, which, coming from so conscientious and distinguished an authority as Mr. Hullah, will carry its own weight. After doing full justice in a previous part of his



volume to the Belgians and the French in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to the Germans in the last and present centuries, he adds, 'The Italians are the inventors of some, and the perfectors of most of the instruments used in the modern orchestra. The resources of these instruments were developed in Italy, and the earliest great performers on them were Italians. Not only were the oratorio and opera born and bred in Italy, but every distinct form of musical compositions, instrumental as well as vocal, is the invention of Italians.'

But if we must, as a nation, surrender our claims to musical originality, the next question is, Have we ever so assimilated the productions of foreign art as to carry on, for any length of time, any continuous and characteristic development of musical composition? Our madrigal and motet writers will then, of course, be quoted: but, unfortunately, the very words madrigal, *madregala*, song of the Virgin, and *motett*, are Italian. However, between 1500 and 1600, the names of Tye, Tallis, Farrant, Byrd, Bevin, Morley, Weelkes, Wilbye, Ward, Dowland, Bull, and Orlando Gibbons, formed the glory of music in England; and we are bound to confess that nothing so fine as the compositions of these eminent men was produced by Englishmen until the post-Restoration period graced by the names of Henry Purcell and Pelham Humphrey.

But although English madrigals were composed and appeared simultaneously in England and Italy during the sixteenth century, so that it may not be easy to derive them in the first place from Italy alone, we must remember that both countries owed the development of counterpoint and harmony to the previous Belgian wave of musical progress, which, under Josquin des Pres and his successors, appears to have reached Italy and England about the same time. At all events the obligations of the Englishmen Tallis, Farrant, Byrd, and their Italian contemporary Palestrina, to Josquin des Pres will hardly be denied. We may also remark that Luca Marenzio and Orlando Lasso, heads of the Italian madrigal school, both resided in England. 'The madrigal,' says Mr. Chorley, 'comes from the south.' This Reformation period was our golden opportunity. Never until the present century has there been such a taste for music in England as existed from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of James I. Singing at sight in those days became a common accomplishment; and large numbers of musical instruments, chiefly manufactured in Italy, were imported into England. 'Most kinds of musical instruments,' says Carl Engel, 'in use at the time of Queen Elizabeth, were evidently introduced into Northern Europe from Italy and Spain.' But the increased  
suppression

suppression of highly ritualistic services dealt one blow to the church music, and the severe Puritan feeling dealt another to its more secular culture. Still people were much merrier under Cromwell than might have been expected; and it is remarkable that in 1656 the first English opera was performed at Rutland House, in which Mrs. Henry Coleman also appeared as the first female singer, it is said, who ever performed in public.

With John Jenkins and Henry Lawes the great Elizabethan school of music—the nearest approach to a national school which England has ever had—died; and all through the Commonwealth, until the restoration of Charles II., musical art, though still cultivated in private circles, lay to some extent under a public cloud.

Then arose in this country what we may call the Anglo-French school, with which must be connected the great names of Pelham Humphrey and Purcell; and once more there seemed a chance of something like the rise of a real English school: but the music of the Restoration was not a revival or even a development of the Elizabethan schools. Our composers had once more gone a-begging. The King hated the old masters, and was all for French tunes. ‘He was a brisk and airy Prince,’ and did not like the ‘grave and solemn way of Tallis and Byrd;’ so he encouraged his young choristers to compose in the French style, and Humphrey, who had lately come back from France, as Pepys says, ‘an absolute French monsieur,’ promised to give the King’s old-fashioned choir-master a lift out of his place. The fact was that ‘Master Humphrey’ had been to Paris to study under Lulli the French composer, and came back to form a school of French music in England.

His greatest successor, Purcell, a man who in originality and fertility must be ranked with Mozart, attempted to blend the grace of the French school with the science and severe learning of the old Elizabethan masters,—and he succeeded; but he left no followers at all comparable to himself—none that were not soon compelled to yield the palm in music to Scarlatti, Pergolesi, and Marcello in Italy, and to Handel, Gluck, and Bach in Germany. Against such names it is almost superfluous to remark we have only to set talented and worthy composers like Croft, Greene, Arne, and the greatest, Boyce. Our later developments are, beside the colossal strides of Germany, of a still more dubious and meagre description. To quote a recent author, ‘The so-called English school had not life enough to survive the paralysis of the civil wars, nor memory enough to continue its own traditions, and France and Italy alternately

contended for the honour of carrying off the musical prizes in England, until Germany, like a very David, arose and slew both the lion and the bear.'

We are sometimes told that the Hanoverian Georges crushed native talent by encouraging the Germans; but neither Italy nor Germany was encouraged at the expense of England. On the contrary, English talent was for a long time protected. For many years great efforts were made to encourage our native musicians; and their ballads were as much bought, and sold, and sung as they are now. As late as George II.'s reign, only an Englishman could fill the post of King's organist; and almost every English composer of any note was Doctor of Music, and installed in some place of honour or emolument. Englishmen have for centuries taught our cathedral choirs: nor was there ever any serious attempt made to keep their operas off the stage, such as they were, nor is there now. Mr. Balfe, Mr. John Hullah, and Mr. Vincent Wallace have all been successful writers of opera in our own day. Yet for all this England has originated nothing, or next to nothing. Pistochi and Goudemel founded singing schools, as Stradiuarius and the Amatis created the modern violin, and thus made the modern orchestra possible. Italy, again, gave us the opera; Handel elaborated the highest form of the oratorio; and Haydn may be said to have created the symphony and the quartet.

It would require a great deal of time and patience to establish beyond a cavil all of the foregoing positions; however, it may be well to state them here, as the results of some research, and to sum them up briefly as follows:—

In speaking of Music in England, let it be clearly understood that we allude to modern music, and that we start from about 1400, at which time England possessed a distinct national life; and we say that her church music came from Italy, and her secular music came from Provence. The schools of Henry VIII. were deeply indebted to the influence of Josquin des Pres; and the schools of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. were as deeply indebted to the influence of Palestrina. Nevertheless, between 1500 and 1650 there flourished in England a very illustrious series of composers who will bear comparison with any of their contemporaries in Belgium, France, or Italy. The Restoration music was mainly of French origin, deeply infected with the genius of Lulli; and although Purcell broke away from many French forms, and endeavoured to chasten the English school by an admixture of the old Elizabethan severity, yet he left none capable of carrying out the new development, and from his time to our own, as far as we have had any composers capable of  
writing

writing anything beyond a ballad, we have been mainly influenced by the Italian writers of the early part of the eighteenth century, and by the German writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of whom many have been hospitably received in this country, and one, Handel—according to Beethoven the greatest musician who ever lived—dwelt for many years in London, and made England his adopted home.

If, then, we say that England is not a musical country, let us not be misunderstood. We are speaking of its actual products, not of its latent capacities. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Germany itself had no school to speak of, nor could she during the seventeenth century at all compete with her Italian rival. The most fatal point against England is this, that twice it has missed rare opportunities for developing a national school. The schools of the Reformation and the schools of the Restoration both died, and have never been revived. And now once again there is a great musical impulse in England. This time it comes from Germany. We have at this moment a number of talented English composers living, from Cipriani Potter and Sterndale Bennett to Arthur Sullivan, composing German music in England. Shall we end by developing a really national school? Shall we be able not only to copy, to paraphrase, to adopt, but to assimilate the foreign elements, and blend them together with something which is not foreign, as Germany once assimilated grace and melody from Italy, as France is even now taking science and counterpoint from Germany? Shall we be able so to take and make our own as to become creators of national music?

If we review the history of music in England during the last half-century, we shall be greatly encouraged to hope for the best. Appreciation must precede production. England has always been famous for paying others to do what she could not do for herself, but she generally ends by learning the trick. England in the last fifty years, if she has not produced so many fine vocalists and instrumentalists as Italy, has, at all events, had several worthy to be placed quite in the front rank. In a curiously conceited book written by the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, and published in 1828, in that nobleman's old age, we may still read of the profound impression which such singers as Mrs. Billington and Mrs. Storace made; and those who wish to carry the record of great names almost up to the present date may refer to Mr. Ella's 'Musical Sketches.' But the great test of musical progress in England is to be found in the enormous multiplication of concerts and subsequent growth of musical societies, not only in London, but throughout the country. At the beginning of this  
century

century the Haymarket, the Pantheon, and the Hanover Square Rooms were the chief scenes of musical action. From time to time there was a Handel festival in Westminster Abbey or York Minster. English operas were produced profusely larded with ballads, and Italian, occasionally German and French, operas were adapted for the English public, with additional bravoura and comic points; and last, but not least, there were the symphonies of Haydn, regarded by the enthusiasts with the same sort of favour as Schumann's music is now by amateurs, and stigmatized by the general public as the music of the future. Such was the state of affairs about the year 1800. Towards 1816 the opera-goers, being terribly tired of the old Italian and French operas, began to discover the merits of Gluck and Mozart. Soon afterwards Rossini arrived in England, and was immediately proclaimed to be the greatest musician that ever lived.

The connoisseurs still held fast to Beethoven and Mozart, but for a time the brilliancy of the new Italian school eclipsed everything. Then came Weber, who, with the assurance of a bold and eclectic genius, preferred to serve two masters, and succeeded to some extent in producing the most fascinating compromise between the scientific harmonies of Germany and the sensuous melodies of Italy. As a natural consequence, neither country has ever forgiven him: he has been weighed in the Italian balance, and found too heavy; and in the German, and found too light. His success was, nevertheless, very great in this country, and the English showed their appreciation of him by singing nothing but the 'Huntsman's Chorus' for years, and hissing all through the first performance of his *chef d'œuvre*, the overture to 'Euryanthe.'

Meanwhile to the Philharmonic Society belongs the glory of keeping alive the sacred flame of the highest German inspiration. It was in 1820, before the Italian mania, that this honourable Society invited over Spohr, who wrote expressly for it his G-minor symphony; it was, in 1827, in the full flush of Rossini's and Weber's popularity, that they sent the ever-memorable 100*l.* to Beethoven, then on his deathbed; nor is it necessary for us to remind our musical readers how, through evil report and good report, the Philharmonic Society has held on to this day with two symphonies at each concert, so that the echoes of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven for more than half a century have never been allowed to slumber in the Hanover Square Rooms. The Society's concerts now take place in St. James's Hall. Cipriani Potter, Sir George Smart, and Sir Henry Bishop were all good friends of music in England; and Mr. Moscheles,

Moscheles, who settled in London in 1821, and remained here until 1846, did as much as any one to diffuse a sounder musical taste amongst the upper classes. But between the years 1830-40 three new influences made themselves felt almost simultaneously. They were connected with three names of very different calibre, all of which were destined to have the most far-reaching and beneficial influences upon musical taste and musical education in England. These three names are Dr. Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, with whom we must connect the name of his gifted friend and pupil, Sir Sterndale Bennett ; M. Jullien ; and Mr. John Hullah. On these three heterogeneous influences we shall now make a few remarks.

The presence of Mendelssohn was in itself a power. His was a bright, sunny, and at the same time energetic personality, which took possession of people wherever he went ; and everywhere he carried with him the same single-hearted devotion to art, the same tireless faculty of creation, the same intense activity, and the same lofty ideal. Once more England, the refuge of Luca Marenzio and Orlando Lasso, the adopted home of Handel, the hospitable host of Haydn, the reverent patron of Beethoven, Spohr, and Weber, was happy in securing the affection of the great, the gifted, and the lamented Mendelssohn. Seldom have so many amiable and endearing qualities met in any one individual as were to be found in Mendelssohn.

Many now living remember the shock of grief that ran through the musical world when the announcement of the great composer's death reached these shores. People who had never seen him felt as though they had lost a friend ; those who had known him were overcome by a sorrow so deep that even now they cannot pronounce his name without emotion ; whilst all felt the vast, the irreparable injury done to art by the removal of that brilliant centre round which for twenty years all the best living musicians had been revolving.

In 1829 Mendelssohn first came to England, and brought with him the wonderful 'Midsummer Night's Dream' overture. In the same year he visited Scotland, and celebrated that country whilst enriching the world with one of his most lovely and original compositions. The strange echoes of Fingal's Cave, where the water comes eddying in over the singular rock formations that lie clearly visible beneath it, the wild concourse of sea-birds, and the musical winds—how much of all this is woven into the Hebrides or the overture to Fingal's Cave we all know.

In 1832 Mendelssohn again came to England, and played his G-minor concerto at one of the Philharmonic concerts. In the following

following year he brought over his A-minor symphony, which was not either played or understood thoroughly until some years later. The trumpet overture in C and the 'Melusine' were both heard during that year, but the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' long remained the popular favourite; and, indeed, it was the key which first opened up to the English public the rich and fertile treasures of Mendelssohn's genius.

In 1837 Mendelssohn brought over his 'St. Paul,' which was that year performed at Birmingham and London. In 1842 we first heard his Scotch symphony, and he himself played his D-minor concerto at the Philharmonic.

In 1844 he was invited by that Society to conduct six concerts, and all the *élite* of London crowded into the Hanover Square Rooms to see and hear him. His very cadenzas and marvellous improvisations on the piano are remembered to this day as events of importance in the history of music in England. Mendelssohn may be said to have invented a new school for the pianoforte—unlike that of Beethoven, unlike that of Weber, very unlike Thalberg, whose compositions he nevertheless warmly admired: the 'Lieder ohne Worte' turn the piano into the artistic chronicler of every passing emotion, sad or joyous or capricious or hasty or solemn. How many reveries, five minutes long, live and die and are clean forgotten; yet they too would fain have found expression, and are often remembered with a certain pain, as unrealized moments in the eternal silence. Mendelssohn has, as it were, embalmed a few of such precious waifs and strays of time in sound; and he has thus shown the way to others. Is it too much to say that half the pianoforte music reveries, *momens musicales*, &c., published during the last thirty years are reflections of the style and manner of the songs without words?

In 1846 Mendelssohn, already failing from the strain and excitement produced by overwork, conducted for the first time the 'Elijah' at Birmingham. It was to be the bright and fitting crown of his short life. He might have lived a little longer if he had given up all work; but, as it was, the 'Elijah' rehearsals at Exeter Hall, in 1847, destroyed him. He died at Leipzig in September of that year.

His influence on the music of this century is second only to that of Beethoven, and his influence over the English musical world has been second to none. He has taught our professional musicians that their art is more than a trade, and our amateurs that music is more than a pastime. The great improvement in the social status of professional musicians in England is largely due to the fact that Mendelssohn, who lived and laboured so  
much

much amongst us, was not only a perfect musician but a perfect gentleman.

It is difficult either to estimate or to over-estimate the influence of Mr. John Hullah on music and musical taste in England, which we have the more pleasure in recording, as many persons seem now to forget the services he has rendered. In 1840, under the sanction of the Committee of Council on Education, Mr. Hullah brought over from Paris the French system of Wilhelm, and singing schools soon sprang up throughout the country. Exeter Hall was the scene of the first great Hullah Concerts, and in 1853 St. Martin's Hall was built and fitted up by Mr. Hullah's own exertions. Here was performed every then existing work of importance, many for the first time. He brought out a large number of the best living singers—Madame Sherrington, Sims Reeves, Santley, Thomas, Cummings; and many of our best instrumentalists made their first *débuts* under him. He also inaugurated the class-teaching in schools under his charge, and a large number of the students in the training schools who have shown special talent for music have become choir-masters and organizing masters in different parts of the country, and real centres of civilization. Mr. Hullah is the author of several operas which were produced with success in their day; he has also written songs and part-songs, besides numerous exercises and vocal studies of all kinds for the instruction of his classes.

It is impossible not to mention here the name of the Rev. John Curwen, who within the last few years has introduced the Tonic Sol-fa system into this country. The notation he employs is a letter notation, and the prominent tonal difference between the Hullah and the Sol-fa methods turns on this one important fact that *Do* is a fixed sound in Hullah's system, but *Do* stands for the keynote of any key whatever with the solfaists. Thus Mr. Curwen's method is based on the principle of key relationship, which regards tones not as high or low but as grouped about the governing or keynote. The rapid spread of this system in schools, factories, and the rural districts would seem to indicate that it is especially well adapted for teaching the more ignorant masses the elements of music. But upon this subject there is a great difference of opinion amongst good musicians. However, the Committee of Council on Education announced in 1869 their resolution to accept 'the Tonic Sol-fa method and the Tonic Sol-fa notation upon the same terms as should from time to time be applicable to the ordinary method and notation.' In connection with the progress of singing in England, it must be noted for the honour of our country that Mr. Henry Leslie has produced out of English voices



voices and English enthusiasm a choir so perfect that we may doubt whether anywhere in the world there exists or ever has existed such a body of trained voices both male and female. To hear Bach's motet, 'The Spirit also helpeth,' Mendelssohn's 43rd Psalm, or Schubert's 23rd Psalm, by this choir, is to listen to a delicacy of execution which has probably reached the limits of choral perfection. Mr. Leslie is also known as the author of a fine oratorio, 'Immanuel,' and numerous songs and part-songs.

Jullien (Louis Antoine) was too popular for his own fame—a scornful smile is apt to pass over the sound musician's face at the very mention of it—yet no man did more than Jullien to kindle the love of music, good, bad, and indifferent, throughout the length and breadth of England. Let us be pardoned if we pause to pay a passing tribute to one who has been a little underrated. Jullien arrived here in 1838, with a prodigious reputation as a popular *chef d'orchestre*, and his promenade concerts soon became the rage. The music played was at times extravagant; pistols, crackers, and even blue and red fires and musketry, were employed to enhance the powers of the orchestra and astound the audience. A new polka by Jullien was an event—for no mortal could tell what would take place before the end of it. But Jullien was also a lover of good music: he knew his public, and stooped to it, but he also to some extent trained it. At his concerts thousands heard for the first time in their lives, for the small sum of one shilling, some of the finest overtures of Weber and Mendelssohn, and parts of the immortal symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. But these classical pills were so excessively gilded in every programme with sensation dance music, that poor M. Jullien to this day passes with many as a mere charlatan. In justice to him we ought at least to remember that he secured for popular hearing almost every great soloist of his day, and that such men as Vieuxtemps, Sainton, and Sivori were to be found amongst the violins of his band. This band, with their *mises en scène* and voluminous *impedimenta*, was as ubiquitous as a corps of Garibaldians in the great days of Garibaldi—they overran the kingdom—they were often announced at one time for a dozen different concerts in different parts of the world—they even went bodily to America, and were back again before they began to be missed here. M. Jullien had many followers but no rivals. After running through several large fortunes and making many disastrous speculations, he at last went mad, and cut his throat at Paris, in 1860, at the age of forty-eight.

For many years the influence of Mendelssohn, which at one  
time

time threatened to extinguish even that of Spohr or Weber, kept the works of many excellent composers in the background. Chopin and Thalberg succeeded in establishing a speciality for the piano, and in these last years the merits of Schubert, Schumann, and let us hope we may soon be able to add Richard Wagner, have been amply acknowledged. If in this place we do not refer at length to the labours of Cipriani Potter, Sir Sterndale Bennett, Mr. Moscheles, Sir Michael Costa, Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, Sir J. Benedict, Sir M. Balfe, Mr. Henry Leslie, the brothers Macfarren, Mr. Arthur Sullivan, and a few other important names, it is not from any want of respect, but simply from want of space. Most of them Englishmen, they have all worked for and in England. The immense progress of music, owing to the above-mentioned causes, will be realized by these two facts,—that in London alone there exist at the present time no less than 104 well-established musical societies, and 2150 resident musical professors; and London supports at least eight musical journals. The most powerful and accomplished orchestras are those of the Crystal Palace (conductor Mr. Manns), the old Philharmonic (conductor Mr. W. G. Cusins). The best quartet concerts are the Monday Popular, the Musical Union concerts at St. James's Hall, and Mr. Holmes' Musical Evenings at St. George's Hall. For refined choral singing there is no choir equal to Mr. H. Leslie's. The Sacred Harmonic under Sir W. M. Costa and Mr. Barnby's Choir give annual splendid performances of the principal oratorios at St. James's and Exeter Hall; and the Albert Hall promises to be a formidable rival to the Crystal Palace as a new and magnificent centre for giant concerts of all kinds. The late Handel Festival has been a great pecuniary and choral success above its predecessors, but the superiority of the Albert Hall for the execution of solos was never more apparent. We may also well ask why the seats in the area blocks are always the highest in price, as they are undoubtedly the worst for hearing. Being so much below the level of any part of the orchestra, the sound floats over the listener's head. The Birmingham Festivals and the Cathedral Festivals at Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, have done an incalculable amount of good to the cause of music in the English provinces; and musical societies abound all over the country. England, therefore, at this moment is rich in the most splendid raw material for a great national organization for the promotion of the musical art. There is plenty of private enterprize, but there is great want of union, of system, of organization, and we must add of generosity and goodwill. There are three ways in which,

which, if the Government were convinced that music is as good for the nation as picture galleries, it might further the cause of music in England:—1st. By the encouragement of a sound system of musical instruction in schools. 2ndly. By supporting or aiding to support a central academy for musical instruction, with a select band for regular concerts, similar to the Conservatoire in Paris or the Gewandhaus in Leipsic. 3rdly. By supporting or aiding to support a much larger pension list than at present exists, for superannuated or eminent musicians in reduced circumstances. We will explain each of these proposals in a few words. First as to musical education.

We propose that a competent Committee be asked to decide on the best method of popular instruction, and that one uniform method be adopted in all schools receiving Government grants. Every school would then be properly taught music, instead of most schools, as is now the case, being taught badly. The difficulties raised about examination are so puerile that no one having the smallest acquaintance with the subject would ever have raised them. There is no difficulty which an ordinarily intelligent inspector, whether he knew music or not, could not with a little assistance from the schoolmaster or local organist easily and satisfactorily surmount. Besides, why not make a certain knowledge of music henceforth incumbent upon all school inspectors? After all, schools are not made for the benefit of inspectors, but inspectors for the benefit of schools.

Secondly, we ought to have a central academy for musical instruction supported in great measure by Government. The Royal Academy of Music would form an excellent nucleus, and is highly favoured in receiving at present 500*l.* a year from Government. Therefore the Government, by this slender endowment, has admitted the principle for which we plead. The scholarships should be increased in number and value, and the society should confer different diplomas or degrees of merit after the manner of our universities. These should be coveted by our musicians as a B.A. degree is coveted by our scholars. Instead of anybody calling himself professor, and hundreds professing to teach singing and the piano who have never been properly taught themselves, we should soon have a class of well-taught and able professors, organists, and pianists, properly certificated. No church would engage a man without some degree, and every parent would have some guarantee that the person who taught his children had himself been taught. We should soon have a great and beneficial weeding in the musical profession. Persons whose only merit consisted in a foreign nationality and a limited acquaintance with the English language would presently be at a discount,

discount, and the social position, standard, and tone of our native musicians would quickly rise throughout the land.

This academy should be always training a band of its own pupils, and might thus supply bands all over the kingdom with well-trained and certificated musicians. The musicians in all our metropolitan societies should bear certificates of merit, and thus be members of the one large society; and then the societies' great performances, say at the Albert Hall, might consist of the best men chosen out of all the affiliated bands and choruses in London.

Before any such scheme can be got to work it is necessary that all existing societies should cease to be rivals and learn to be friends. And this might be. Our central society would displace no one, and encourage and strengthen all existing organizations. Its professors would be chosen from amongst able leaders and musical directors, who now stand too often in bitter rivalry towards each other; and the richer the central society became the more scholarships could be founded, and the more funds would there be wherewith to make grants to other societies and promote the general prosperity of numerous affiliated branches in the provinces.

And, lastly, the scope of the present Royal Society of Musicians might be immensely extended. When a musician is too old for his work, he ought to be allowed to retire honourably on a pension; and the Government, which occasionally places on its civil list some very peculiar specimens of literary merit, should certainly aid such a musical pension fund as we propose. There is no hope of retaining an efficient orchestra anywhere, for any length of time, owing to the impossibility of getting rid of old, prejudiced, and often incompetent men. Many old orchestral players are invaluable, but others simply cannot play their parts, nor can they well be turned out without a retiring pension. Such bands of splendid players as the old Philharmonic and the Crystal Palace should be kept efficient in this way, and their musicians, after years of faithful work, should be able to look forward to an honourable retirement accompanied by something better than penury or starvation. In all cases our central society should, through its committee, examine the claims and award the pensions to retiring or indigent musicians of merit.

And, let us observe, we are suggesting nothing new or strange: much of our scheme has been carried out with success on the Continent. It cannot be said when the Government expends such vast sums on pictures that it is intentionally indifferent to the interests of Art, and as regards music the germs of our three propositions

propositions already exist in England, they only await fertilization and development.

Music is already officially acknowledged in our schools; let it be well taught under Government. The Royal Academy of Music is already on the right track, and is assisted with official funds; let it be expanded into a great central organization—for instance, either let it absorb the South Kensington scheme, or let it be itself absorbed into the Albert Hall. The Society of Musicians already provides pensions and pecuniary aid to many deserving musicians all over the land, with an honourable maintenance; let them be encouraged to establish a claim upon it by the payment of a small annual fee. And, lastly, let the general public, as well as the Government, awake to the importance, musically and philanthropically, of such a pension fund as we suggest, and contribute accordingly. We have no fear for the prospects of music in England. Our professors and amateurs have borne down much opposition, and have already obtained from an unmusical Government several unwilling concessions. Let them persevere, and if they are asked by Mr. Lowe himself, in the words of Mr. Darwin, ‘Pray, what do you consider may be the direct uses of music to man in reference to his ordinary habits of life?’ let them answer in some such words as these, ‘There is no class of society which music is not calculated to recreate and improve. The lowest are brought most easily under its dominion, and the highest cannot escape its influence. Thousands of poor children who are being daily gathered into our schools acknowledge practically the helpfulness of music. We may convince ourselves of this by entering any national schoolroom on some hot summer’s day. Who can estimate the fatigue and listlessness that come over the spirits of children wholly unused to mental application? Soon the teacher’s voice rings in their ears without conveying any definite meaning—the mind, “like a jarred pendulum, retains only its motion, not its power;” the master exhausts himself in vain, and the already overworked mistress grows disheartened to see that no authority she can exercise will revive the worn-out attention of the pupil. But, the music lesson—or perhaps only one song is thrown in—the little faces brighten up, the listless hands are raised to beat time, the eager eyes are turned towards one of Mr. Hullah’s big boards with big music and words, and, in a moment, the room resounds with music from a hundred fresh voices; and the wearied teacher forgets with a smile the tedium and the toil, whilst the children, by music, are drawn more closely to the teacher and the task; as if by magic the emotional atmosphere of the room is changed, and the spelling or arithmetic

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is attacked with as much vigour as if the little students had only just come in from the green fields or pleasant playground. Has music been of no direct use to these children?’

Again, is it nothing that the innocent pleasures of our poor should be indefinitely increased? These school children throughout the land carry home their songs; they sing them to the labourer when he comes back at nightfall, the mother sings them to her fractious babe, the eldest daughter sings them as she goes about her household drudgery or farmwork, the very animals prick up their ears, and it is notorious that horses are cheered by the sound of their tinkling bells, and encouraged by the cheery songs of the ploughman. Many animals have good ears for time, and can be got to labour better with some musical accompaniment than without it. Let our poor have musical homes, and they will be less likely to go to the public-house for society, as well as for the music they find there. Let us train our poor children to music, and we shall have got one transforming element into the poor homes of the future.

But let us enter the workrooms of our great cities. Ought we not to be glad that through the long hours thousands of poor girls in crowded factories should be taught to sing together in parts over their work, and thus refresh themselves with an emotional life beyond the reach of the grinding machinery around them and the fumes of overheated workrooms? The fingers will speed none the less swiftly, but the young frames will not suffer so much, because the work will become more mechanical, less mental, and the mind refreshed by sweet sounds will be less apt to brood over morbid and unhealthy themes.

Like a good physician, like a tender friend, music comes to the aid of all classes, a gentle minister of consolation—sweeping clear the sky and showing the blue beyond, making grief bearable and loss tolerable. Music soothes the fever heat of the sick man, and ministers strangely to the disordered mind when other remedies fail; it enables the soldier to accomplish forced marches and fight battles at the end of them, it draws the bands of social and family life more closely together, it recreates the wearied professional man, it kindles new fervour in the sluggish soul, and is, moreover, ready to bear on high the inarticulate aspirations of many a trilling and careworn spirit.

These, and a thousand others, are amongst the benefits which Music is able to confer upon her votaries. Is it strange that those who are impressed with her power, and are aware of her infinite resources, should labour for the extension of musical education, and try, meanwhile, to provide some real answer to the objection  
which

which has of late found more ways than one of uttering itself,—  
 ‘Neither the enjoyment nor the capacity of producing musical notes are faculties of the least direct use to man in reference to his ordinary habits of life’?

ART. VI.—1. *Village-Communities in the East and West*. Six Lectures, delivered at Oxford, by Henry Sumner Maine, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University, &c. London, 1871.

2. *On the Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages, and Inclosures of the Sixteenth Century in England*. Translated from the German of E. Nasse, by Colonel H. A. Ouvry. Published under the sanction of the Cobden Club. London, 1871.

3. *Les Ouvriers Européens. Études sur les Travaux, la Vie Domestique et la Condition Morale des Populations Ouvrières de l'Europe*, &c. Par M. F. Le Play. Paris, 1855.

A VILLAGE-COMMUNITY may be roughly defined as a group of families, settled on a tract of land which maintains them, and which they hold on the principle of common ownership, more or less fully in practical operation. Recent researches have shown that society, becoming consolidated in the agricultural stage, began in very early ages to organize itself into such village-communities. To investigate the history of this now unfamiliar social institution is no profitless antiquarian task, but a problem of practical importance. The beginnings of the inquiry lie, indeed, in dark places of ancient history, but its ends reach into the midst of our modern life. The peasantry of ancient England habitually lived in village-communities, and our land laws cannot be rightly understood without the consideration that this early state of society underlay what is called the feudal system. Our dominion of India is still, in no small measure, organized in village-communities, so that a knowledge of their constitution is essential to a sound judgment in Indian affairs. Moreover, the history of these ancient agricultural associations bears stringently on certain modern projects of a communistic possession and cultivation of land—schemes confidently advocated as a cure for the evils of our present social system. From this point of view it is a matter of no slight or distant interest to observe that a large fraction of mankind has been engaged for many centuries in experimenting, in the strictest practical way, on the social and economic

economic results of a more or less communistic land-tenure. It is not to be thought, however, that because the theory of village-communities is important to professional lawyers and statesmen, it must be obscure or dull to laymen. It is high time that Sir Henry Maine's reproach against his countrymen, as exceptionally wanting in knowledge of and popular interest in law, should be done away with. He himself, in his lectures on 'Ancient Law,' published ten years since, has done much—more than he thinks, perhaps—to remove it. Neither he, nor any other writer equal to the task of tracing the development and expounding the philosophy of law in the plain language of the historian, is likely to complain henceforth that readers are either few or careless. Sir Henry Maine's present course of lectures on 'Village-Communities' has, indeed, little of the conventional technical character of a law-book. Printed much as they were delivered, his discourses are lightened by frequent digressions, always instructive and sometimes most brilliant. Far from overloading his arguments with heavy details, he even goes too far in suppressing them; so that it may be fairly suggested that in future editions a larger appendix should give positive particulars of village organizations in such typical districts as Russia and India—details which actual students require to have before them, but which are as yet by no means easy of access. Still, as to the general theory of the subject, the treatise, as it stands, is perfect in its scope. Bringing compactly together the results of researches by Maurer, Nasse, and others, the author connects them with his own work into a whole. He offers a rational explanation of the origin of the village-community, a history of the process of 'feudalization' which has so generally modified it, and a sufficient statement of the causes which have everywhere tended to supersede it by social arrangements more suited to advanced civilization.

In speaking of an explanation offered by Sir Henry Maine for the origin of the barbaric village-community, it is not meant that he advocates the views of the influential modern school of ethnologists, who seek the origin of society in an utterly low primitive condition of man, whence a course of simply natural development, acting through a vast period of time, is supposed to have raised him to higher social levels. Our author's starting-point, in defining the primitive family tie, differs extremely from that taken by Mr. J. F. McLennan, in his 'Primitive Marriage,' and accepted in a modified form by Sir John Lubbock, in his 'Origin of Civilization.' Readers of Sir Henry Maine's 'Ancient Law' are aware that he receives the 'patriarchal theory' of the primeval state of man in society. In his present



lectures he puts prominently forward, as the very basis of his argument, the patriarchal family—‘a group of men and women, children and slaves, of animate and inanimate property, all connected together by common subjection to the paternal power of the chief of the household.’ Far from accounting for the existence of this complex social group by evolution from a lower state, he declares that, if the patriarchal family ‘is really to be accepted as a primary social fact, the explanation assuredly lies among the secrets and mysteries of our nature, not in any characteristics which are on its surface.’ Not to enter on the discussion of doctrines of the primitive condition of society—doctrines which, whether right or wrong, are not to be disposed of by a passing touch of criticism—we will here only express surprise that Sir Henry Maine should be so little inclined to simplify his theory of early society as to include (or seem to include) slavery as one of its primitive institutions. Surely, starting with the existence of simple families, then war between them, and the capture of prisoners, furnish an obvious natural cause capable of converting the earlier and simpler clan of kinsfolk into the later and more complex group of freemen and slaves. Within the present special subject, however, diverse theories of the origin of society scarcely clash. If it be disputed how patriarchal families arose in the world, it is admitted on all hands that they have existed from the remotest historic ages, and exist still. Thus Sir Henry Maine sets a firm foot on ground common to all schools of ethnology, when, taking for granted the patriarchal family, he makes his next step by treating it as the unit of a larger natural group—the village-community.

The patriarchal family, on the death of its chief, tends to separate into a group of families, each under its head of the next generation. Let a patriarchal family, occupying a tract of land in pasture and tillage, thus in a few generations separate naturally into a group of households, but without dividing the common-land. Or, let several households emigrate together to occupy in common an outlying tract. The result, in either case, is a village-community, and the circumstances and needs of a simple agricultural life are so similar, that a fairly general definition may be given of its arrangement. It is not an unexampled custom even now, and it may have been frequently a transitional stage, for the arable land to be tilled jointly for the common profit. But it is usual to find the arable land more or less permanently apportioned out in plots among the households, while the ground left in forest and waste remains enjoyed in absolute common by the villagers. Such arrangements, though especially prevalent among nations of the Aryan race,  
are

are not confined to them. To show the general likeness among these simple associations, founded by whatever race, in whatever country, and at whatever period of history, we may briefly cite two accounts, describing the settlements of Tatars in East Russia at the present day, and of English yeomen colonizing North America in the seventeenth century. In the magnificent treatise of Le Play (a collection of evidence on the various conditions of industrial society which we commend to the study of all political economists)\* will be found a description of the social economy of the Bashkir village-communities in the forest clearings on the eastern slopes of the Ural. As belonging to a Tatar race whose original character is that of pastoral nomades, these Bashkirs represent, in an interesting manner, an early stage of settled life. During half the year they follow, on the mountains, their ancient pastoral habit, not wandering indeed at large, but the villagers of each settlement keeping to the summer pasture which now belongs to it. The other half year is spent in the home village, and here each household has attained to absolute property in its house and immediately adjacent garden. But the arable land and the hay-fields are in the intermediate state. It is true they are parcelled out among the families, but their original condition of common land is shown by the village council not only assigning to new families new plots from the village reserve, but actually taking away and throwing back into the reserve any plots on which a family has for several years raised no crop. With the social scheme of these simple and lazy half-nomade barbarians may be compared that which arose among a people of vastly different type. So well did the principle of the village-community seem adapted to the needs of new agricultural settlements, that it was adopted by the English emigrants who colonized New England. When a town was organized, the process was that the General Court granted a tract of land to a company of persons, who then proceeded so far to divide it as to assign to the individual proprietors their house-lots and tracts of meadow, while they retained the woodland and outlying pasture as the common property of the company. In the barbaric world, village-communities thus set on foot might have lasted for ages. But in New England the disintegrating influences of our modern social scheme, with its pressure of population, its tendency to change, and its habits of individuality, were fatal to this antique constitution. Within half a century the law had to limit the privilege of commonage to houses already in being, or to be

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\* See 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cxxviii. p. 89.

afterwards erected with the consent of the town. The commoners thus became a kind of aristocracy, and the common lands were gradually divided up. Sir Henry Maine aptly winds up his argument by citing this remarkable case as typical of the history of village-communities in ancient Europe and modern India, illustrating at once their origin, their arrangement, and the causes which lead to their ultimate dissolution.

Now in these modern accounts we find the key to one of the greatest facts of European history. The ancient Teutonic agricultural settlement of Northern Europe was, on the whole, made on the principle of the village-community. How it took shape in Scandinavia is well described by Hyltén-Cavallius, the Swedish ethnologist, in his account of the ancient land-tenure. From the oldest times, he says, and so long as the Gothic tribes remained half-nomadic clans, all the land taken up remained as common and undivided clan-land. But when in time permanent agriculture came to be added to cattle-breeding and the shifting tillage of patches of fire-cleared land, they began gradually to divide that part of the tract which had previously been tilled as a whole as *odal-land*, but which, now separated into lots, became the heritage of the different households, what was not *odal-land* remaining undivided as the common pasture and woodland, and the enclosed but still undivided land likewise retaining the character of common property. The Scandinavian 'by,' or township, is a relic of the old Teutonic community. The village-commoners were originally a family, gradually formed into an independent group or tribe, and their whole enclosed tract was the *tribe-land*. This was long enjoyed in common, but at last was parcelled out in lots according to the number of households, which lots became heritable within the family, and were extremely subdivided. The out-mark of the township, on the other hand, continued to be used in common by the townsmen for pasture and supply of wood, and the *bys*, with their subdivided in-fields and undivided out-mark, took a character of partly maintained and partly broken-up common, which they have often kept to our own day.\* Years ago Sir Walter Scott met with remains of this old Scandinavian land-tenure in Shetland, and it is curious to see how the able lawyer and antiquary was puzzled by them, wanting, as he did, the key to decipher them by, the knowledge that they were relics of a primitive state of society fast falling away. Sir Henry Maine quotes an extract from his journal :—

'I cannot get a distinct idea of the nature of the land-rights. The *Udal* proprietors have ceased to exist, yet proper feudal tenures seem

\* G. O. Hyltén-Cavallius 'Wärend och Wirdarne, ett försök i Svensk Ethnologia' Stockholm, 1863-8, part ii., p. 290.

ill understood. Districts of ground are in many instances understood to belong to townships or communities, possessing what may be arable by patches, and what is moor as a common *pro indiviso*. But then individuals of such a township often take it upon them to grant fens of particular parts of the property thus possessed *pro indiviso*. The town of Lerwick is built upon a part of the common of Sound; the proprietors of the houses having feu-rights from different heritors of that township, but why from one rather than other. . . . seems altogether uncertain.'

The word 'mark,' just mentioned in describing the 'out-mark,' of the Scandinavian village, involves the leading idea of the whole Germanic land-system, to which the Scandinavian belongs. The Teutonic Township, as Sir Henry Maine defines it, 'was an organized, self-acting group of Teutonic families, exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce.' This tract was divided into three parts. 'These three portions were, the Mark of the Township or Village, the Common Mark or Waste, and the Arable Mark, or cultivated area. The community inhabited the village, held the common mark in mixed ownership, and cultivated the arable mark in lots appropriated to the several families.' Though it need hardly be said that the organization of the ancient mark has long occupied the attention of historians and legists in Germany, it is especially through the recent series of researches by G. L. von Maurer\* that its importance in explaining the facts of modern German land-tenure has been established. The 'Allmende,' or 'Allmand,' of the German townships is still used for tillage and pasture by the householders, under regulations little changed in principle for this thousand years and more. In the more backward parts of the country, especially, the vestiges of collective property are most abundant. A summary account of Von Maurer's conclusions will be found in Mr. Morier's paper in the volume of 'Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries,' recently published under the sanction of the Cobden Club. Instead of entering on this branch of the evidence, however, it will answer the purpose to speak of the remarkable traces of similar Teutonic land-laws surviving in our own English counties. Why the bearing of the facts in question was till lately overlooked is clear enough. It was hardly the fault of historians such as Palgrave, Kemble, or Freeman, who have kept clearly in view the fact that the early English proprietary-system was that of the mark or township. The question was, whether this ancient form of property had died out, and our legal text-books had led to the impression that this was

\* See the list of Maurer's works in Appendix II. to 'Village-Communities.'

the case. It is not quite to the credit of historico-legal science in England, that it should have been left to Professor Nasse, of Bonn, to bring into prominent notice the proofs that local land-holdings which our commentators have treated as incidental, and the intention of which they have explained, if at all, by superficial guesses, are in fact relics of the domains of English village-communities, dating from before the Norman Conquest.

Such lands, when arable, are called 'common fields,' 'open fields,' 'shack lands,' 'intermixed lands,' &c. When in grass, they are often known as 'lot meadows,' or 'lammas lands.' It is very usual for the 'common fields' to be divided by green turf-baulks into three long strips. The several properties consisted of subdivisions of these strips, the principle of division being that each owner has his plot in each of the three strips. The purpose of this division was that the common fields might not be tilled at the discretion of individual owners of parcels, but that the whole might be worked on the principle of the old three-field husbandry—each strip, for instance, bearing wheat one year, oats or beans the next, and lying fallow the third. In a general way, it may be said that individual ownership in such commonable lands only extends from seed-time to harvest, the whole body of owners, and sometimes other persons, having the right of pasture on the whole of one strip during its fallow year, and on the green baulks dividing the three fields (which often afforded a surface of many acres), as well as the right of 'shack' or pasturage over the stubbles of the two tilled strips, after the crops have been got in. It seems seldom that the shares in the arable fields shift yearly from one owner to another, but this is more frequent in the meadows, which may be distributed by lot, or in rotation, among those entitled to appropriate and inclose them, the inclosures being generally removed after hay-harvest—sometimes on Old Lammas Day (August 13), by a kind of popular tumultuary assembly. It is needless to state minute details or exceptions as to these remarkable customs. But it must not be supposed that the examples of them are few and local, representing no general principle. Marshall, an eminent writer on agriculture about 1800, gives a general account of common-field township in England, and goes so far as to assert that a few centuries ago nearly the whole of the lands of England lay in an open, and, more or less, in a commonable state. Till comparatively recent years, such statements might still be made as that half Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, and Wiltshire were still in the state of commonable meadows, commons, and common fields. 'One of the largest of the common fields,' says Sir Henry Maine, 'was found in the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford; and the grassy baulks

baulks which anciently separated the three fields are still conspicuous from the branch of the Great Northern Railway which leads to Cambridge.' Looking at the history of the mark or township in Germany, Scandinavia, and our own country, it seems in great measure established that in England such commonable lands are remains of early township-lands, in the intermediate stage between common and individual property, while a great part at least of the waste land which has been inclosed during past centuries, or still lies as open common, was originally the out-mark of the village-community. Tracing the course of social history back through the feudal system, it appears that in England, as elsewhere, there was a time when the land was still owned by the proprietary group which cultivated it, a community whose social characteristics may still be studied, in forms more or less modified, in less advanced regions of the world.

If the whole problem of the history of these proprietary groups were that of following and accounting for the gradual ascendancy gained by the principle of individual ownership over that of community, the considerations involved in it would be comparatively simple. But in the actual course of events this is found intricately involved with another problem, one of the most complex as it is one of the most important of history, the process of feudalization, the subjection of the community to a chief or lord, and the transformation of the commoner into the lord's tenant. In most of the districts where society is, or has been, organized on a large scale on the system of village-communities, some more or less advanced stage of the feudalizing process has been reached. It is one of Sir Henry Maine's especial objects to show the importance of the study of the native tenures of British India as throwing light on this problem. The Indian village-community, at once an organized patriarchal society and an assemblage of co-proprietors, is the real unit of social and political organization. For various reasons this fact was for many years of our rule not sufficiently understood and acted on. The system was strange to our early administrators, who happened also to begin their work in Bengal, a district where the old village-system had fallen into decay. And as in England the tendency of legal commentators, steeped in feudal tradition, was to ignore, and by ignoring to aid in suppressing the remains of the old township-organization, so in India the Brahminical code of Manu, in which the two leading ideas are the performance of religious rites and the maintenance of caste, threw into the background the native village-law, of which the constitution must be learnt by oral inquiry. The subject is not yet, despite of vigorous labour, thoroughly worked out, but an instructive  
paper

paper on it by Mr. George Campbell, now Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, will be found in the volume of 'Systems of Land-Tenure' already referred to. Looking only to the essential constitution of our Indian villages, it appears that they mainly correspond with the mark of old Germany or England. There is the arable land divided into household-lots, but cultivated on a plan which all must conform to, there are sometimes the reserve-meadows, there is the village waste, the undivided pasture-ground of the community. In hundreds of cases there is nothing to prevent our accepting the view that a single family went out ages ago into the jungle and founded a settlement which grew by mere throwing off of young households into such an organized village as this; into which were also taken up aliens, whether of the founder's race or of other stocks even ethnologically different, so that an Indian community may include men of several castes, higher and lower. Nor is it a mere co-operative farm, with its weavers, and potters, and smiths to make it complete and self-dependent, but an organized political society, with its functionaries to regulate the levying of taxes and the administration of justice and police. Tradition, real or fictitious, of founders and ancestors, constitutes the theoretical bond which holds these communities together. In that the village consists of households, each ruled absolutely by its patriarch, and so far as the council of village elders settle disputes by reference to ancient custom, the guiding rule of Indian life, so far we seem to see the village-community in its primeval form. But the process of feudalization has had more or less part in shaping the actual constitution of the Indian villages. Sir Henry Maine has not found a single community under the unmodified collective government of the heads of households, but there is a headman, whose office is under various conditions hereditary within some particular family or families. Let a powerful central Government like ours recognize such privileged families as, even in a limited sense, owners of their villages, and let these be settled with as the class bound to collect the taxes and pay them to the treasury, this is one of the various courses of events which increase the tendency to feudalization. And while neither extreme of the feudalizing process, neither the primitive democratic community, nor the medieval feudal manor with its lord, can be seen in India, yet in complex varieties of the intermediate stages the transition from the village-system to the manorial-system is to be studied as matter of modern history.

Turning from Asia to Europe, in the Slavonic districts which on the whole represent the most backward state of European civilization, and taking no notice of changes within the last few years,

years, we find in a social system of which the village is the basis, at once instructive illustrations of the primitive cultivating group, and of the feudalization which has more or less transformed its nature. Perhaps the most striking known examples in the world, of communistic agriculture as an ancient political institution, are the villages of Servia, Croatia, and Austrian Slavonia, brotherhoods of persons who are at once co-owners, and, at least in theory, kinsmen. These communities not only hold their land in common, but they actually cultivate it by the combined labour of all the households, among whom the produce is divided yearly, sometimes according to their supposed wants, sometimes according to rules which give fixed shares to particular persons. This extreme socialistic scheme, in which the land is not even theoretically divisible, may be contrasted in this respect with the Russian agricultural village. Here the common arable land is parcelled out among the households, but only for a term of years, sometimes only three, after which it is thrown together and re-apportioned. In certain villages we find that social adjustments of this kind are practically made by the village council of elders, and in general it may be said that the ancient organization has maintained itself through the great political change, made within historical times, which assigned the village to a noble proprietor, whose serfs, working in *corvée* for his benefit, the freemen became. The assertion is even current that serfdom was introduced in order to prevent the peasants from breaking up the co-operative village system, on which depended the ancient order of the land.\*

Far different from this has been the historical fate of the village-system in Western Europe. The growth of the feudal-system so changed its ancient constitution, that, to take the phrase now accepted as the rough expression of this social revolution, the mark became transformed into the manor. Among the varied and complex causes of this vast change must be counted the development of that germ of aristocracy which was recognized in the old German as in the modern Indian communities, the existence of certain families within the community whose descent tradition traced from the primitive ancestor, and from whom was chosen the chief, general in war and governor in peace; this tendency to form a nobility headed by a King being naturally accompanied by the practice of assigning lands, especially lands carved from the territory of conquered tribes, to become the King's spoil and the warrior's reward. It would be vain to take up as in a parenthesis the huge and intricate problem

\* Maine, 'Ancient Law,' p. 267. See the works of Haxthausen, Tengoborski, and Le Play.



of the feudalization of Europe, yet with due reservation as to views not yet brought to absolute proof, it may be admitted that these and kindred causes go far toward explaining it. Whether it was seldom or often that the old mark or village-community was actually transformed into the manor with its feudal lord, the historical succession of the manor-system to the mark-system is at least plausibly inferred by Sir Henry Maine. The tenants retained in some degree the old commoner's rights of pasture and taking firewood, but the waste or common-land became the lord's waste, and in time it came to be assumed by legal authorities that the commoners had obtained their rights by sufferance of the lord.\* In later ages the decay of the feudal-system, far from re-establishing the ancient agricultural institution of the mark, still further obliterated the traces of its past existence, so that the claim to explain as its relics our village-commons as well as our remaining open-fields and lammes-meadows, sounds to most Englishmen somewhat startling at the first hearing, though admitted on consideration as not at all unreasonable in itself.

We cannot show in modern England anything approaching the remarkable case of actual maintenance of the old village-community, which might be studied in Central France within a quarter of a century. In Mons. Le Play's volume will be found a description of the village of Les Jault, the last survivor of a number of communities which existed in the Nivernais. These were considered to have been established by feudal seigneurs some centuries ago, but with our present information we must come to the somewhat different conclusion that they represented more ancient village-settlements, which in the course of history came under the authority of feudal lords, but continued to exist after the abolition of the feudal-system. About 1840, the little community of Jault consisted of seven partial families, whose heads were kinsmen and bore the same name. The land, buildings, and cattle were held in common, each family having a separate dwelling-compartment in the common building, furnished principally at the common cost, and the members taking their meals in the common hall, where the chief and his second had the distinction of a separate table. The community, industrious and moral in its habits, prospered till, in the present century, the 'spirit of individualism' among the young people began to undermine the patriarchal authority. They were no

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\* It is a fair instance of the currency of the feudal view that the origin of manors lay in grants of territory to lords, to find it generally accepted in 'Six Essays on Commons Preservation: written in Competition for Prizes offered by Henry W. Peck, Esq.' (London, 1867). Mr. W. P. Beale, however, in his acute Essay (No. 2), traces common-rights from the mark.

longer content, as in the good old days, to work with good-will and obedience under the master who knew what was right better than they did, who treated them as his children, and divided the produce of the common labour according to the wants of each. Now they wanted to lead the old folks, to work for their own private gain, to have accounts and interfere in the division of proceeds. Thus it came to pass that the members quarrelled and went to law, and the society was broken up in 1846.

Looking, from a political point of view, at the system of communities which has thus had so important a place in the history of the world, we see in it an institution eminently suitable for the agricultural settlement of new countries by barbaric clans, and for the permanence and extension of barbaric society. The life is favourable to patriarchal virtues, to simplicity, sobriety, obedience, family attachment. The value of the village-system is excellently shown in India, where observers who judge most severely the moral condition of the individual Hindoos speak with favour of the institution which binds them together with a bond of mutual goodwill and justice. Where our legislators have to deal with such communities, deep-rooted in the present national life of India, they, no doubt, do well to take the ancient organization as in present fitness with the character of the races who have been shaped for ages under its influence, and to maintain it as the basis of social order. It is true that, under the influence of English ideas, the native political standards are changing. The change is inevitable, and in many ways desirable; nor is it to be expected that the primitive village-organization will for ever escape in India the fate to which progressive civilization seems everywhere to doom it. Its virtues are great, but its practical defects seem insurmountable. While a country is only cleared in isolated patches by a scanty population of simple habits and moderate desires, the emigrant families who have obtained their titles, each to its village-tract, by a right compounded of conquest and collective squatting, may long continue to grow into communities, large, prosperous, and closely knit within themselves. But as they more and more occupy the land, and come too near to close contact, their intensely quarrelsome habit will lead to intertribal war, one of the effects of which is to give to individual chiefs that uncontrolled possession of large estates which is fatal to the very scheme of the village-community. And where the tendency to war is restrained, the peaceable increase of such villages tends to determine their limits of existence by intensifying the causes of their dissolution. Better agricultural methods are required to obtain subsistence from the more crowded land ;  
and

and it need scarcely be said that a peasant-village, governed by old men whose supreme authority is ancestral custom, is not a society with progressive tendencies. Socialistic cultivation of land is an institution which village-communities have existed long enough to condemn as practically objectionable; for in most districts the parcels of tilled ground apportioned among the several households are well on their way to become individual holdings. We must guard against a certain ambiguity of terms, which may lead to the erroneous inference that the villages classed as communities are always or even generally communistic in the extreme sense as to their practical working. Their state is, in fact, much more instructive, seeming, as it does, to show the tendency to break down socialism into individualism. Even the weaker remains of the community-system are likely to disappear altogether in countries where they come into competition with the larger capital and superior management which belong to individual ownership. The necessity of conforming to a rude traditional tillage made the open-field-system in England utterly contemptible even to old-fashioned judges of agriculture. Three hundred years ago, Tusser, in his 'Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandry,' gave his own experience of the remains of the old community-system, still to be studied on a large scale in many parts of the country, where the question between it and the inclosure-system was being fought out in a practical way. His verdict was absolutely against the old village-husbandry, with its bad produce, and its idle, thieving, poverty-stricken population. It was absolutely in favour of inclosure:—

'The country inclosed I praise,  
The t'other delighteth not me,  
For nothing the wealth it doth raise  
To such as inferior be.

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More plenty of mutton and beef,  
Corn, butter, and cheese of the best;  
More wealth anywhere to be brief,  
More people, more handsome and prest,  
Where find ye, go search any coast,  
Than there, where inclosure is most.'

Even the right of common pasture in lammas-meadows and the like—picturesque relic of old English manners as it is—is unprofitable from an economic point of view. The late history of a single estate, burdened with such rights, may serve as a general example. It consisted of several hundred acres of pasture and woodland, on which a number of persons, the representatives, apparently,

apparently, of the original commoners, had each during the summer the right of so many leazes (*i. e.*, pasture for so many head of cattle). These leazes were bought up by the proprietor of the estate, who, keeping it still as a principally pasture-farm, spent a few years' rent on draining and improvements, and tripled its annual produce. On the whole, it may be laid down as a conclusion, that so far as regards the problem of feeding the greatest number of mouths from a given district, the decision of history, after a trial lasting through many ages, is being given for individual as against communistic possession of land.

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ART. VII.—1. *Mémoires d'Alexandre Dumas*. Tomes 16.  
2. *Mémoires d'Alexandre Dumas*. Deuxième Series. Tomes 8.

BACON never gave stronger proof of his knowledge of mankind than when he left his 'name and memory to foreign nations and the next ages.' A whole host of proverbs might be cited in justification of this bequest; and Lord Russell has felicitously described a proverb as the wisdom of many and the wit of one. 'No man is a prophet in his own country.' 'No man is a hero to his valet de chambre.' 'Familiarity breeds contempt.' What are these but so many variations of the same familiar tune, so many modes of expressing the same universally recognized truth, that it is vain to hope for a just and fair appreciation from our contemporaries. We may be unduly exalted as well as unduly lowered by them, for a brief period or for a set purpose; but that they should hold the scales even, and pronounce impartially on the merits or demerits of a living rival or associate, would seem to border on a moral impossibility. In conversation with James Smith, Crabbe expressed great astonishment at his own popularity in London, adding, 'In my own village they think nothing of me.' If people cannot bring themselves to contemplate as a real genius the quiet unobtrusive character whom they see moving amongst them like any other ordinary mortals, how can they be expected to recognize, as a duly qualified candidate for the character, one who is mixed up in a succession of literary or party intrigues and contests, who is alternately wounding their prejudices or flattering their self-love, whose fame or notoriety resembles the shuttlecock, which is only kept from falling by being struck from side to side in rivalry.

In England, of late years, political acrimony has been nearly banished from the higher regions of criticism; but an infinity  
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of disturbing forces have been unceasingly at work to prevent the fair estimate of a popular writer in France, and there never was a popular writer who had better reason than Alexander Dumas to protest against the contemporary judgment of his countrymen, or to appeal, like Bacon, to foreign nations and the next ages. This could hardly have been his own opinion when he commenced the publication of his autobiography, which was far from mitigating the spirit of detraction he had provoked; but his death may be accepted as an atonement for his manifold offences; and the most cursory glance at his career will show that its irregularities were indissolubly connected with its brilliancy. It was an adventurous one, in every sense of the term. From its commencement to its close he threw reflection overboard, and cast prudence to the winds. He is one of the most remarkable examples of fearless self-reliance, restless activity, and sustained exertion, we ever read or heard of. His resources of all sorts, mental and bodily, proved inexhaustible till six months before his death, although he had been drawing upon them from early youth with reckless prodigality. Amongst his many *tours de force* was the composition of a complete five-act drama within eight days, and the editorship of a daily journal, *Le Mousquetaire*, upon a distinct understanding with his subscribers, faithfully observed, that the contents should be supplied by his pen. It was towards the end of the second month of the satisfactory performance of this task that he received the following letter:—

‘MY DEAR DUMAS,

‘You have been informed that I have become one of your subscribers (*abonnés*), and you ask my opinion of your journal. I have an opinion on things human: I have none on miracles: you are superhuman. My opinion of you! It is a note of exclamation! People have tried to discover perpetual motion. You have done better: you have created perpetual astonishment. Adieu; live; in other words, write: I am there to read.

‘LAMARTINE.

‘Paris, 20th December, 1853.’

He set up a theatre—*Le Théâtre Historique*—for the representation of his own plays, as he set up a journal for his own contributions. He has not written quite as many plays as Lope de Vega, but he has written four times as many romances as the author of ‘Waverley;’ and he has done quite enough in both walks to confute the theory that a successful dramatist must necessarily fail as a novelist and *vice versa*; a theory, it will be remembered, maintained and exemplified by Sir Walter Scott, and plausibly supported by the

the illustrious examples of Fielding, Smollett, Cervantes and Le Sage. Postponing for a moment the questions of morality and originality, it can no longer be denied in any quarter that Dumas' influence, whether for good or evil, has been immense on both sides of the Channel. Indeed, we are by no means sure that his romances have not been more read by the higher class in this country than in his own. Nor, in glancing over his multifarious claims to rank amongst the leading spirits of his age must we forget his numerous 'Voyages' and 'Impressions de Voyages,' constituting altogether between twenty and thirty most amusing and instructive volumes of travels. But they are wholly unlike what are commonly called Travels, and constitute an entirely new style of writing. He has a prodigious memory, filled to overflowing with the genuine romance of history; he lights instinctively upon every local tradition that is worth recording; he has a quick eye for the picturesque and (above all) an exquisite perception of the humorous. He is about the best possible storyteller in print, and he rarely dwells too long on a ludicrous incident, nor forces us to keep company with his laughable characters till they grow wearisome.

The wonder at his unprecedented fertility and versatility had led at one time to a very general belief that most of his publications were concocted by a set of 'prentice hands or journeymen, whom he paid at so much a sheet; and that the utmost he contributed to their handiwork was a masterly touch here and there and his name on the title-page. One of these, named Macquet, boldly laid claim to a lion's share in the composition of the best, and was strenuously supported by critics of authority.\* But Macquet was avowedly employed by Dumas for twenty years to hunt up subjects, supply accessories, or do for him what eminent portrait painters are wont to leave to pupils, namely, the preparation of the canvas, the mixing of the colours, the rough outline of the figures, or the drapery. That Macquet was capable of nothing better or higher, was proved by his utter failure as a novelist, whenever, both before and after the alleged partnership, he set up for himself. A curious attempt was then made to show by calculation that the number of pages which Dumas, according to his own account, must have composed

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\* *Fabrique de Romans: Maison Dumas et Compagnie.* Par Eugène de Mircourt. Paris, 1845. *Les Supercheries littéraires dévoilées.* Par J. M. Quérard. Troisième Edition. Paris, 1859. Article 'Dumas' (Alexander Davy). This article, containing 152 pages of close print in double columns, is a collection of all the criticisms and attacks founded or unfounded, ever levelled against Dumas; and although invaluable as a fund of information, it carries little weight as an authority by reason of its obvious exaggeration and injustice.

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during his literary life, was more than the most practised penman could have copied in the same space of time at the rate of sixty pages a day. But as his literary life lasted more than forty years, the required quantity per day is quadrupled or quintupled in this estimate; and the production of twelve or fourteen widely-printed pages, on the average, for a series of years is by no means a physical impossibility. This rate of composition was often exceeded by Sir Walter Scott; who wrote or dictated the 'Bride of Lammermoor' whilst suffering from cramp in the stomach to an extent that often compelled him to break off and throw himself on a sofa to writhe in agony. Lope de Vega is known to have written five full-length dramas in fifteen days, and his dramatic compositions, published or unpublished, have been computed to exceed two thousand.\* Edgeworth states, in his 'Memoirs,' as an ascertained fact on which heavy bets were laid and won, that a man could run faster with a carriage-wheel, which he propelled with the bare hand as a child trundles a hoop, than when he was entirely unencumbered, provided the prescribed distance were sufficient for the *impetus* or adventitious motion thus acquired to tell. This sounds more paradoxical and open to doubt than a statement made in our hearing by Dumas, that, when he warmed to his work, he can supply original matter faster than it could be transcribed by the readiest penman. His mode of life was thus described in the 'Siècle':—

'He rises at six: before him are laid thirty-five sheets of paper of the largest size; he takes up his pen and writes in a hand that M. de Saint-Omer would envy till eleven. At eleven he breakfasts, always in company: the author of "Monte Christo" is the most hospitable of men of letters: during this meal, in which he plays a good knife and fork, his spirits and his wit never flag. At twelve, he resumes the pen not to quit it again till six in the evening. The dinner finds him what he was in the morning, as lively, as lighthearted, as ready at repartee. If by chance he has not filled the allotted number of sheets, a momentary shade passes over his face, he steals away, and returns two or three hours later to enjoy the pleasures of the *soirée*. The year has three hundred and sixty-five days: we have described three hundred and sixty-five days of the famous novelist and dramatist.'

We have now before us (received from Dumas) the original manuscript of a chapter of the 'Mémoires d'un Médecin,' obviously dashed off at a heat. The handwriting is large, round, and free, bearing a strong resemblance to that of Scott; who, according to Lockhart, rose at the same hour, and whenever (as was frequently the case) there was a distinguished company at

\* Ticknor's 'History of Spanish Literature,' vol. ii. p. 201.

Abbotsford, completed his allotted task before breakfast, so as to be free to attend to the amusement of his guests.

The charge of plagiarism is one easily brought, and not easily parried except by showing that there is nothing new under the sun, and that the most inventive minds have not disdained to borrow from their predecessors. Virgil borrowed from Homer; Racine, from Euripides; Corneille (for his *Cid*), from a Spanish dramatist. '*Je prends mon bien où je le trouve,*' was the unabashed avowal of Molière. 'Evil betide those who have said or written our good things before us,' was the half-comic, half-serious exclamation of a truly original wit. Shakespeare drew largely on chronicles, popular histories and story-books for his characters and plots: his Greeks and Romans frequently speak the very words placed in their mouths by Plutarch: 'Julius Cæsar' was preceded by a Latin play on the same subject, and (amongst other things) the famous *Et tu, Brute?* (which rests on no classical authority) was taken from it. Voltaire sedulously ran down Shakespeare to throw dust in the eyes of the French public and prevent them from discovering his obligations to the barbarian, as they designated the author of 'Hamlet.' 'L'Ermite' in 'Zadig' is a mere paraphrase of Parnell's poem, 'The Hermit;' and the fable (Voltaire's) of 'Le Lion et le Marseillais' is borrowed from Mandeville. The framework and all the solid portions of Mirabeau's best speeches were notoriously supplied by Dumont; little being left for the orator but to infuse the Promethean fire and vivify the mass.

In a recent notice of Talleyrand, we mentioned a note in the handwriting of his brother to the effect that the only breviary used by the ex-bishop was '*L'Improvisateur Français,*' a voluminous collection of anecdotes and jests; the fraternal inference being that his conversational brilliancy was partly owing to this repository. Pascal copies whole pages from Montaigne without quoting him. Sheridan confessedly acted on Molière's principle or no-principle: he was indebted to Farquhar for the 'Trip to Scarborough:' the most admired bit of dialogue between Joseph Surface and Lady Teazle is the recast of a fine reflection in 'Zadig':\* and consciously or unconsciously, Tom Jones and Bilfil must have influenced the conception of Charles and Joseph Surface. 'With regard to the charges about the Shipwreck,' wrote Lord Byron to Mr. Murray, 'I think that I told you and Mr. Hobhouse years ago that there was not a single circumstance of it not

\* '*Astarté est femme; elle laisse parler ses regards avec d'autant plus d'imprudence qu'elle ne se croit pas encore coupable. Malheureusement rassurée sur son innocence, elle néglige les dehors nécessaires. Je tremblerais pour elle tant qu'elle n'aura rien à se reprocher.*'—*Zadig*.



taken from fact; not, indeed, from any single shipwreck, but all from actual facts of different shipwrecks.' So little was Tasso ashamed of occasional imitations of other poets, or incorporated details from history, that, in his commentary on his 'Rime,' he takes pains to point out all coincidences of the kind in his own poems. Scott lays particular stress in his Preface on the fidelity with which he has followed the narratives and traditions on which his romances are almost uniformly based, but he forgot to note that the scene in 'Kenilworth,' where Amy is kneeling before Leicester and asking him about his orders of knighthood, was copied from the 'Egmont' of Goethe. Balzac has appropriated for one of his novels an entire chapter of 'The Disowned.' Lamartine has been tracked to gleanings, which he hoped to visit incognito, by Sainte Beuve. Dr. Ferriar has unsparingly exposed the poaching propensity of Sterne, who, besides making free with Rabelais and Burton, has been indirectly the means of dragging more than one author from obscurity by stealing from him. Lord Brougham left a translation of Voltaire's 'Mémorial, ou La Sagesse Humaine,' to be published as an original composition of his own; and his executors, entering fully into the spirit of the testator, and carrying out his last wishes to the letter, have published it as he left it, without a hint, haply without a suspicion, of its quality.

One of the fine images with which Canning wound up his peroration on the Indemnity Bill of 1818 was certainly anticipated by Madame de Stael.\* The embryo of Macaulay's 'New Zealander' has been discovered in Horace Walpole's curious traveller from Lima; and the Theodora of 'Lothair' bears so strong resemblance to the Olympia of 'Half a Million of Money,' as to raise a compromising conviction of identity. But these are trifles. On one of the most solemn and memorable occasions within living memory, in expressing as leader of the House of Commons the national feeling of gratitude and admiration for the hero of a hundred fights, Mr. Disraeli took boldly and bodily, without the change of a word, rather more than a third of his prepared oration from the translation of an article in a French review, on a French Marshal, by M. Thiers.

We have been at some pains to illustrate the various shades and degrees of what is commonly called plagiarism; because Dumas has been accused of all of them, from the gravest to the lightest, and needs all the support and sanction that can be derived from example and authority. If we are to put faith in

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\* 'If in the hour of peril the statue of Liberty has been veiled for a moment, let it be confessed in justice that the hands whose painful duty it was to spread that veil, have not been the least prompt to remove it.'

his assailants, he has pushed to extravagance the appropriation doctrine of Molière: he has rivalled not only the broom-maker who stole the materials, but the one who stole his brooms ready-made: he has taken entire passages like Mr. Disraeli, complete stories like Voltaire and Lord Brougham; and as for plots, scenes, images, dialogues, if restitution to the original proprietors were enforced, he would be like the daw stripped of its borrowed plumes, or (to borrow a less hackneyed image from Lord Chatham) he would 'stand before the world, like our first parents, naked but not ashamed.' But somehow these charges, though pointedly urged, have utterly failed in their main object: there is no denying the real genius, the genuine originality, of the man after all: and the decisive test is that what he takes assimilates to what he creates, and helps to form an harmonious whole, instead of lying, 'like lumps of marl upon a barren moor, encumbering what they cannot fertilise.' Nor is his one of those puny reputations that must be kept alive by nursing, that cannot bear exposure, that go down at once before a storm. On the contrary, it has almost invariably been confirmed and augmented by the most formidable attacks levelled at him, as a great flame is increased and extended by the wind which blows out a small one.

The autobiography of such a man could not well fail to abound in curious information, lively anecdote, and suggestive reflection; nor are these *Memoirs* wanting in merits of a more sterling order. They contain some capital canons of criticism; and, despite of the irrepressible influences of national and personal vanity, they are marked by a pervading spirit of kindly feeling and good sense. If ill-disposed to spare the errors and weaknesses of his political adversaries, he is almost always candid and generous towards his literary rivals. His highest admiration is reserved for real genius and true greatness; although the one may be fallen and the other out of fashion. It is never the reigning dynasty, nor the actual dispensers of favour and fortune, that are the objects of his most enthusiastic praise, but the friends or patrons who sacrificed their prospects to their principles, and lingered in exile, or died poor. We wish we could add that he had kept himself equally free from interested considerations in his choice of topics and materials; for it is impossible not to fancy that many of these have been pressed into the service with an exclusive eye to bookmaking. For example, a long chapter is filled with an abstract of Moore's *Life of Byron*; and each volume contains episodical narratives of public events which have no peculiar bearing on his life. Still, we should gladly hail his reminiscences as a valuable contribution to the literary and political

tical history of the nineteenth century if we could rely on their general accuracy. But we were startled at the commencement by sundry statements which, assuming them to be true, strikingly illustrate the maxim *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*; and we found more and more, as we proceeded, that would go far towards justifying the theory of the late Vice-Chancellor Shadwell, who formally laid down from the judgment-seat that writers of fiction are not good witnesses, because they necessarily contract an incurable habit of trusting to their imagination for their facts. On this delicate point, however, our readers may judge for themselves after reading Dumas' account of his birth, parentage, and education.

It were to be wished that the same philosophical indifference touching the distinctions of birth which was exhibited by Sydney Smith,\* had been manifested by all autobiographers who could not boast of an admitted or clearly established claim to ancestral honours; for an apocryphal progenitor is very far indeed from conciliating respect or favour for his *soi-disant* descendant. After stating that he was born on the 24th July, 1802, at Villers-Coterets, 'two hundred paces from the *Rue de la Noue*, where Desmoutiers died, two leagues from Ferté-Milon, where Racine was born, and seven leagues from Chateau-Thierry, where La Fontaine first saw the light,' Dumas proceeds to state that his real hereditary name is not Dumas:—

'I am one of the men of our epoch whose right has been contested to the greatest number of things. People have even contested my right to my name of Davy de la Pailletterie, to which I attach no great importance, since I have never borne it, and because it will only be found at the end of my name of Dumas in the official acts which I have executed before notaries, or in the documents in which I have figured as principal or witness.'

To prove his title to this honourable designation, he prints an exact copy of the register of his birth, from which he undoubtedly appears to be the legitimate offspring of Thomas Alexandre Dumas-Davy de la Pailletterie, General, &c. &c., who by other references is made out to be the son of the Marquis de la Pailletterie, a French nobleman of ancient family, who, adds his grandson, 'by I know not what Court quarrel, or what speculative project, was induced, about 1760, to sell his property and domicile himself in St. Domingo.' It would seem that his expatriation did not last long, for in 1786 we find him settled in Paris, where

\* In reference to Lockhart's attempt to make out an irreproachable pedigree for Sir Walter Scott, Sydney Smith said—'When Lady Lausdowne asked me about my grandfather, I told her he disappeared about the time of the assizes, and we asked no questions.'

the following brief dialogue between him and his son, the father of the narrator, explains the alleged change of name. The son calls upon the Marquis and announces a sudden resolution. 'What is it?' inquires the Marquis. 'To enlist.' 'As what?' 'As soldier.' 'Where?' 'In the first regiment that comes to hand.' 'As you like,' replied my grandfather; 'but as I am the Marquis de la Pailleterie and Colonel Commissary-General of Artillery, I cannot permit my name to be dragged about in the lowest grades of the army.' 'Then you object to my enlisting?' 'No; but you will enlist under a *nom de guerre*.' 'Nothing can be more just; I will enlist under the name of Dumas.' 'Be it so.' And the Marquis, who had never been the tenderest of fathers, turned his back on his son, leaving him free to do as he chose. 'My father therefore enlisted, as agreed, under the name of Alexandre Dumas.' The Marquis died thirteen days afterwards, but the new recruit never assumed his hereditary name and title—an omission which might fairly warrant a passing doubt of his right to them, were it not for a certificate, signed by four notables of St. Germain en Laye, to the effect that he was by birth a genuine Davy de la Pailleterie.

This weighty question being disposed of, Dumas proceeds to enlarge on the corporal advantages of his father, who, if he answered to the description, must have united the grace and beauty of Antinous to the strength of Hercules:—

'He had the brown complexion, chestnut hair, soft eyes, and straight nose which belong exclusively to the mixture of the Indian and Caucasian races. He had white teeth, sympathetic lips, the neck well set upon powerful shoulders, and notwithstanding his height of five feet nine inches (French), the hand and foot of a woman. His foot in particular set a swearing (*faisait damner*) his mistresses, whose slippers he was rarely unable to wear. At the epoch of his marriage, his calf was exactly the size of my mother's waist. His wild mode of living in the colonies had developed his address and his strength in an extraordinary manner. He was a regular American cavalier, a *Guacho*. With gun or pistol, he did wonders of which St. Georges and Junot were jealous. As to his muscular force, it had become proverbial in the army. More than once, he amused himself in the riding school whilst passing under a beam, by taking this beam between his arms, and lifting his horse off the ground between his legs. I have seen him (and I recollect the circumstance with all the excitement of childhood) carry two men upright on his bent leg and hop with them across the room. . . . Dr. Ferns, who served under my father, has frequently related to me that, on the evening of his arrival to join the army of the Alps, he saw by the fire of a bivouac a soldier who, amongst other feats of strength, was amusing himself by inserting his finger in the barrel of a musket and raising it, not at arm's length, but

at finger's length. A man wrapped in a cloak mixed with the spectators and looked on like the rest, till smiling and throwing off his cloak, he said; not bad that, now bring me four muskets. They obeyed, for they had recognised the General-in-Chief. He then inserted his four fingers in the four barrels, and lifted the four muskets with the same ease with which the soldier had lifted one. Fergus, when he told me this anecdote, was still at a loss to comprehend how a man's muscles could raise such a weight.'

We are as much at a loss as the Doctor; but further marvels are to come:—

'During one of the General's Italian campaigns, the soldiers were forbidden to leave the camp without their side-arms under pain of forty-eight hours' arrest. My father was passing on horseback, when he met Père Moulin, since *maitre d'hotel* at the Palais Royal, who, at this period, was a tall and fine young man of twenty-five. Unluckily this tall and fine young man had no sword by his side. On seeing my father, he set off on a run to gain a cross street; but my father, who had caught sight of the fugitive and guessed the cause of his flight, put his horse to the gallop, overtook him, and exclaiming, so rascal, you are resolved to get yourself assassinated; collared him, and lifting him from the ground, without pressing or slackening the pace of his horse, my father carried the man thus in his talons as a hawk carries a lark, till, finding a *corps de garde* on his way, he threw Moulin towards them, exclaiming, Forty-eight hours arrest for that——.'

The following incident may serve to convey a notion of the manner in which the General's personal prowess was exhibited against the enemy in the field:—

'It was at Mauldi that my father found the first opportunity of distinguishing himself. Commanding as Brigadier a look-out party composed of four dragoons, he unexpectedly fell in with an enemy's patrol composed of thirteen Tyrolese chasseurs and a corporal. To see and, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, charge them, was the affair of an instant. The Tyrolese, who did not expect this sudden attack, retreated into a small meadow surrounded by a ditch wide enough to stop cavalry. But, as I have already observed, my father was an excellent horseman; and he was on an excellent horse called Joseph. He gathered up the reins, gave Joseph his head, cleared the ditch like M. de Montmorency, and found himself in an instant in the midst of the thirteen chasseurs, who, stupefied by such hardihood, presented their arms and surrendered. The conqueror collected the thirteen rifles into a single bundle, placed them on his saddle-bow, compelled the thirteen men to move up to his four dragoons, who remained on the other side of the ditch which they had been unable to clear, and having repassed the ditch the last man, he brought his prisoners to head-quarters. Prisoners were rare at this time. The appearance of four men bringing in thirteen produced a lively sensation in the camp.'

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This we can well believe, and we know of no parallel for the exploit except that of the Irishman, who, single-handed, took four Frenchmen prisoners by surrounding them ; or that of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, to whom a squadron of cavalry surrendered at discretion on his coming suddenly upon them in a woody defile when he was consulting his personal safety by flight.

If an English writer were to begin in this fashion, his countrymen would most assuredly set him down for a rival of Munchausen, and haply hold themselves excused from attaching any serious importance to his future revelations, real or pretended. But in the case of a vivacious Frenchman, ample allowance must be made for a national habit, which we would rather exemplify by instances than characterize in plain language.

If M. Lamartine occasionally laid himself open to censure by indiscretion, he rendered invaluable services to the cause of peace and order by his courage and presence of mind at an extremely critical period, in 1848; and the praise of high-minded and unswerving integrity has been unanimously conceded to him. It is impossible to suspect such a man of wilful or conscious departure from veracity, and we may therefore cite the Waterloo chapter of his 'History of the Restoration' as one of the most remarkable examples on record of the predominance of imagination over judgment in a Frenchman. In the course of a few pages he makes the Duke of Wellington, mounted on his eighth horse after seven had been killed under him, gallop up to two of his regiments of Dragoons, make them take off the curbs of their bridles to prevent them from checking their horses in the charge, and distribute brandy to the men before launching them against the foe. He then orders his 'intrepid Scotchmen,' after allowing the approach of the French cavalry without firing, to slip under the horses, and rip them up 'with the short and broad sword of these children of the North.' By way of episode, Ney figures in the front, flourishing his general's hat in his left hand, his broken sword in his right, his dying horse at his feet ; and General Lesourd dismounts, whilst his dragoons are rallying, to have his arm amputated, and then leads them to the charge.

It may possibly be urged that M. Lamartine is essentially a poet, and cannot be expected to clip the wings of his fancy when once fairly set in motion by so exciting a theme. But M. Thiers is eminently endowed with most of the qualifications which are supposed to guarantee the trustworthiness of an historian. He has a clear head, a ready pen, penetration, sagacity, and large experience of affairs acquired as a practical administrator. Yet, strange to say, his account of the battle of Trafalgar

Trafalgar is substantially as much at variance with both fact and probability, though not quite so extravagant on the face of it, as M. Lamartine's 'Waterloo.' According to M. Thiers, hardly one of the French ships struck until assailed by an irresistible superiority of numbers—three or four to one—although, when the battle began, Nelson had four ships of the line and three frigates less than Villeneuve. To the same category belong the famous boast, *La garde meurt et ne se rend pas*, attributed to Cambronne, who was actually taken prisoner at Waterloo, the dying words (never spoken) of Desaix, and the alleged self-immolation of the sailors of 'Le Vengeur,' who, instead of sinking with the cry of *Vive la République*, scrambled into the English boats, crying loudly for help. The extraordinary fictions to which French ministers and generals habitually resorted during the late war to keep up the spirits of the people and the troops, must be fresh in the recollection of our readers. There was not a pin to choose between the expiring Empire, the government of National Defence, or the government of the National Assembly, in this respect. No sooner had M. Thiers got together the semblance of an army than he declared it to be the finest army ever possessed by France; and when, after several days of desultory street fighting, he had worn out rather than conquered the armed rabble of the capital, he proclaimed that the whole world was lost in admiration at the splendour of his victory and the irresistible prowess of French troops.

If we recall attention to this national weakness, it is simply for the purpose of suggesting that we cannot throw aside Dumas

exaggeration, without laying down a rule which must prove fatal to the reputation of the most distinguished of his countrymen. Fortunately, too, the value of his 'Memoirs' consists principally in anecdotes and revelations which may be easily verified by accessible evidence, or in views, reflections, and criticisms based upon patent and acknowledged facts. With regard to the alleged events of his boyhood, we are inclined to assume his general accuracy, because we are utterly at a loss to see what motive he could have in inventing or colouring stories, most of which are by no means flattering to his self-love. He frankly tells us that he was bred up in poverty in a petty provincial town, by a doting mother, whose fondness, we must do him the justice to add, he uniformly repays by the most affectionate and unremitting solicitude for her feelings and comforts. Indeed the endearing and ennobling sentiment of filial love breathes throughout the whole of his family details as freshly and naturally as in Moore's Diary, thereby affording another striking

striking proof that real goodness of heart may co-exist with a more than ordinary degree of vanity and self-consciousness, even when pampered by flattery and inflated by success.

Dumas' master-passion from boyhood was the chase, or, more correctly speaking, *la chasse*, which means something widely different from the corresponding word in English. One of the first official notices that meets the eye on the wooden pier or landing-place at Calais is, '*Il est defendu de chasser sur les ponts*,' a puzzling intimation to sportsmen who are not aware that almost everything that runs or flies is the legitimate object of *la chasse* in France. All is game that comes to the Gallic sportsman's bag. He does not despise a tomtit or yellowhammer; he regards a thrush as a prize, and he ruthlessly exults over the broken wing of a cock-robin or *rouge gorge*. The Calais notice is especially addressed to sportsmen in pursuit of mud-larks. One of the most amusing stories composed or stolen (the fact is disputed) by Dumas, is '*La Chasse au Chastre*,' in which he depicts the trials and perils into which a worthy professor of music is hurried by the reckless pursuit of a field-fare. He best can paint it who has felt it most, and Dumas is confessedly the chronicler of his own sensations in this book. Although he rose in time to the dignity of a regular poacher, and made unlawful prize of any stray hare or partridge that came within range, he dwells with unrestrained rapture upon the delights of the day when a friendly neighbour gave him leave to shoot larks upon a strictly preserved common. We also learn from his lively sketch of his first visit to Paris, that he undertook it in well-founded reliance on his skill as a sportsman for supplying the ways and means of the expedition. It was in 1822, when he was in his twentieth year, that this expedition was thus conceived and arranged in the course of a walk with a friend, a notary's clerk like himself.

"Ah, I exclaimed, an idea!" "What is it?—Let us go and spend three days at Paris." "And your office?"—"Mr. Lefevre (his master) himself starts for Paris to-morrow. He commonly stays away two or three days; in two or three days we shall be back." Paillot felt in his pockets, and pulled out twenty-eight francs. "Behold," said he, "all I possess! And you?"—"I have seven francs." "Twenty-eight and seven make thirty-five. How do you suppose we are to reach Paris with that? There is thirty francs for coach-hire to begin." "Stop a minute, I have a way." "What?"—"You have a horse?" "Yes." "We pack our clothes in a portmanteau, we take our shooting-jackets and our guns, and we shoot as we go; we eat our game on the journey, and we spend nothing."—"How is that to be managed?" "Nothing easier: between this and Dammartin, for example, we shall kill a hare, two partridges, and a quail." "I hope we shall kill more than



than that."—"And so do I, but I take the lowest estimate. We arrive at Dammartin; we dress and eat our hare; we pay our wine, our bread, and our salt with the two partridges, and we give the quail to the waiter. We have nothing then to provide for but your horse, which may be well done for three francs a day." "But we have only one gun!"—"It is all we want; one of us will shoot, the other will follow on horseback. In this manner, it being sixteen leagues to Paris, we shall have only eight leagues each." "And the game-keepers?"—"Ah, a precious obstacle! The one of us who is on horseback descries them at a distance; he gives due warning to the one who is shooting. The horseman dismounts, the sportsman mounts and gallops off the beat. As for the dismounted horseman, the keeper overtakes him, and finds him strolling along with his hands in his pockets." "What are you doing here?"—"I! you see what I am doing." "Never mind, let us hear."—"I am taking a walk." "Just now you were on horseback."—"Well, is it contrary to law to take a walk after a ride?" "No, but you were not alone."—"That may be." "Your companion was shooting." "You don't say so." "He is down there on horseback with his gun."—"If so, run after him and try to catch him." "But I can't run after him and catch him, since he is on horseback and I am on foot."—"In this case, my friend, your better course would be to go to the first village and drink our health." "Whereupon we—you or I—give him a franc, which is set down to our account of profit and loss; the keeper makes his bow, and we continue our journey." "Well, well, exclaimed Paillot, that is not badly imagined. I had heard that you had tried your hand at play writing." "It is precisely to see Leuven on the subject of my attempts in this line that I wish to go to Paris. Well, once at Paris—"

The scheme was forthwith put in practice. They started the same evening for Paris, where they arrived the night following, with four hares, twelve partridges, and two quails, for which the landlord of an hotel in the Rue des Vieux Augustins agrees to lodge and board them for two days and present them with a paté and a bottle of wine at parting. Dumas's grand object was to see Talma, and his first visit is to a literary friend, who introduces him to the great actor at his toilette:—

"Talma was very shortsighted. I do not know whether he saw me or not. He was washing his chest. His beard was nearly all shaved, which particularly struck me, inasmuch as I had heard a dozen times that in *Hamlet* at the appearance of the father's ghost, Talma's hair was seen to stand on end. It must be owned that the aspect of Talma under these circumstances was far from poetical. However, when he stood upright, when, with the upper part of the body uncovered and the lower part enveloped in a kind of large mantle of white cloth, he took one of the ends of this mantle and drew it on his shoulder, so as to half-veil the breast; there was something imperial in the movement that made me tremble. Leuven explained the object of our call.

Talma

Talma took up a kind of ancient stylus, at the end of which was a pen, and signed us an entrance ticket for two.'

What follows is characteristic. *Virgilium tantum vidi*; and our autobiographer cannot trust his readers to complete the natural train of association, but must fain suggest that the first meeting between the great actor and the great dramatist is not to be passed over as an every-day occurrence:—

'He held out his hand to me. I longed to kiss it. With my dramatic notions, Talma was a god for me; an unknown god, it is true—unknown as Jupiter was to Sémélé—but a god who appeared to me in the morning, and was to reveal himself to me at eve. Our hands touched. Oh, Talma, if you had then twenty years less, or I twenty years more! Alike honour was for me, Talma. I knew the past; you could not divine the future. If you had been told, Talma, that the hand you had just clasped would write sixty or eighty dramas, in each of which you, who were looking out for parts all your life, would have found a part that you would have converted into a marvel, you would hardly have parted so easily with the poor young man who coloured up to the eyes at having seen you, and was proud of having touched your hand. But how could you have seen this in me, Talma, since I did not see it in myself?'

An odd ebullition of the same sort once exposed him to a clever rebuke, attributed to Madame Dejazet. Arriving together on a theatrical expedition at Rouen, they were requested by the police to state their respective professions. '*Moi*,' said Dumas, '*si je n'étais pas dans la ville ou fut né le grand Corneille, je me nommerais auteur dramatique.*' '*Et moi*,' said Dejazet, '*si je n'étais pas dans la ville ou fut brûlée Jeanne d'Arc, je me nommerais Pucelle.*' His son, the author of '*La Dame aux Camélias*,' in reference to his complexion and his vanity, said of him: 'My father is capable of getting up behind his own carriage to make people believe that he has a man of colour for footman.' Dumas begins one of his chapters thus:—'I know not who—*perhaps myself*—has said that the Revolution of 1830 was the last shot of Waterloo. *It is a great truth.*' Yet the graceful and truthful apology which Lord Russell has made for Moore's vanity may be made with equal justice for that of Dumas. It is a frank, joyous, and cordial vanity, without the slightest tincture of envy; and, far from seeking to depreciate his distinguished contemporaries, his proudest boast is that he has fairly earned a right to be named along with them:—

'At the epoch of my arrival in Paris (1822), the men who held a rank in literature, the illustrious whom I came to claim a place, were Chateaubriand, Jouy, Lemercier, Arnault, Etienne, Baour-Lormian, Béranger, C. Nodier, Viennet, Scribe, Théaulon, Soumet, Casimer

Casimir Delavigne, Lucien Arnault, Ancelot, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Desangiers and Alfred de Vigny. Let it be well understood that, by the order I assign them, I am only naming, not classifying them. Then came the half-literary half-political, as Cousin, Salvandy, Villemain, Thiers, Augustine Thierry, Michelet, Mignet, Vitet, Cavé, Merimée, and Guizot. Lastly, those, who not being yet known, were to produce themselves by degrees, such as Balzac, Soulié, de Musset, Sainte-Beuve, Auguste Barbier, Alphonse Karr, Théophile Gautier. The women in vogue, all three poets, were Mesdames Desbordes-Valmore, Amable Tastu, and Delphine Gay. Madame Sand, still unknown, was to be first revealed by "Indiana," in 1828 or 1829. I believe I have known all this Pleiad, which has supplied the world of ideas and poetry for more than half a century, some as friends and supporters, the others as enemies and adversaries. The good the former have done me, the evil the latter have attempted to do me, will in no respect influence the judgments I shall pass upon them. The first, by pushing me on, have not caused me to make a step the more; the second, by trying to stop me, have not caused me to make a step the less. Across the friendships, the hates, the envies—in the midst of an existence harrassed in its details, but always calm and serene in its progression—I have reached the place that God had marked out for me; I have reached it without intrigue, without coterie, and never elevating myself but by mounting on my own works. Arrived where I am, namely, at the summit which every man finds at the half-way point of life, I ask for nothing, wish for nothing. I envy nobody, I have many friendships, I have not a single enmity. If, at my starting point, God had said to me, "Young man what do you desire?" I should not have dared to ask from his omnipotent greatness that which he has been graciously pleased to grant me in his paternal goodness. I shall say then of these men whom I have named, so soon as I met them on my road, all that there may be to say of them; if I hide anything, it will be the ill. Why should I be unjust towards them? There is not amongst them a glory or a fortune for which I have ever wished to change my reputation or my purse.

'Yesterday I read upon one of the stones of a house I had had built for myself, and which, whilst waiting for me—me or another—has hitherto lodged only sparrows and swallows—these words, written by an unknown hand: "*O Dumas! tu n'as pas su jouir, et pourtant tu regretteras.*"—E. L. I wrote under, "*Niais! si tu es un homme. Mentuse! si tu es une femme.*"—A. D. But I took good care not to efface the inscription.'

It is difficult to avoid sympathising with a man of genius who pours forth his soul in this fashion, and the egotism may be pardoned for the sake of the frankness and generosity of the burst. Neither, looking at the peculiar character of the writer, do we deem it clear that he formed an erroneous theory of what is called success in life, or that he had much reason to envy the majority

majority of those who, according to their own or the popular estimate, may have made a better use of their opportunities. Every reflecting person must be the best judge of what is necessary to his (or her) happiness, and Dumas was pre-eminently one of those who would repeat after Scott—

‘To all the sons of sense proclaim,  
One glorious hour of crowded life  
Is worth an age without a name.’

He wanted constant agitation and excitement, as well as notoriety. A fixed station, a defined rank, nay, even an established fortune, would have become irksome, fretting, and galling incumbrances when the flush of novelty had passed away. He would have felt like Manon Lescaut, when she declared the conventional restraints of constancy and propriety insufferable; when—

‘Virtue she found too painful an endeavour,  
Condemned to live in decencies for ever;’

or like the opium-eater, when he was put upon the short allowance of fifty or sixty drops of laudanum per day; or like Henry Beyle (Stendhal), who, settled in a comfortable consulship, exclaims, ‘How many cold characters, how many geometricians, would be happy, or at least tranquil and satisfied, in my place! But my soul is a fire which dies out if it does not flame up. I require three or four cubic feet of new ideas per day, as a steam-boat requires coal.’

It was the remark of an astute man of the world, that if he could choose and portion out a new life he would be a handsome woman till thirty, a victorious general from thirty to fifty, and a cardinal (*i. e.* a cardinal of the olden time) in his old age. A Frenchman of the Restoration and the July monarchy might have hesitated between being a victorious general or an author in renown. ‘Bear in mind,’ wrote Jules Janin, in 1839, ‘that it is now the poets, the novelists, the dramatists, the journalists in renown that have the titles, the coat-armour, the coronets. It is they that people press forward to gaze upon when they enter a room; it is they whose names the very lacquy pronounces with pride when he announces them. Let a Créqui and M. de Chateaubriand enter at the same time, and you will see on which side all heads and all hearts will incline first. Announce M. le Duc de Montmorency and M. de Balzac, and everybody will look first at M. de Balzac.’ Under similar circumstances all eyes would have been turned towards Alexandre Dumas; and when we reflect that what the majority of the world are striving for is to  
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be distinguished amongst their fellows—*quod monstrer digito prætereuntium*—there is little room for surprise that he should have found ample compensation for all his labours and all his trials in his fame.

We left him exulting in the hope of seeing Talma act, and for once the reality did not fall short of the expectation. The play was 'Sylla,' one great attraction of which consisted in the analogy in the hero's fortunes, as depicted by the author of the piece, to those of Napoleon I. After the performance, Dumas was taken to see Talma in his dressing-room, which he found crowded with notabilities:—

'Talma caught sight of me near the door. "Ah, ah," he said, "come forward." I advanced two steps nearer. "Well, Mr. Poet," he continued, "are you satisfied?"—"Better than that, I am lost in wonder." "Well, you must come and see me again, and ask me for more tickets."—"Alas, I leave Paris to-morrow, or the day after at latest." "That's unlucky, you would have seen me in *Regulus*. You know that I have made them fix *Regulus* for the day after to-morrow, Lucien (Arnault, the author)?"—"Yes. I thank you," said Lucien. "What, you cannot stay till the day after to-morrow?"—"Impossible, I must return to the country." "What is your employment in the country?"—"I dare not tell you. I am clerk to a notary." "Bah," said Talma, "you must not despair on that account. Corneille was clerk to a procureur. Gentlemen, I present a future Corneille!" I coloured to the eyes. "Touch my forehead," I said, "it will bring me luck." Talma placed his hand upon my head. "Come then," said he, "so be it. Alexandre Dumas, I baptize thee poet in the name of Shakespeare, Corneille, and Schiller! Return to the country; resume your place in your office, and if thou hast verily the vocation, the angel of poetry will take care to find thee wherever thou art, to carry thee off by the hair of the head like the prophet Habakkuk, and to carry thee where thou hast work to do." I seized his hand, which I tried to carry to my lips. "*Allons, allons,*" he exclaimed, "this lad has enthusiasm; we shall make something of him," and he shook me cordially by the hand.'

So ended this memorable interview, and Dumas returns to his province and his desk in a very bad mood for copying deeds or serving processes. His master probably saw that the embryo poet was likely to make a bad clerk; for Dumas immediately received warning that his future services would not be needed, and he forthwith set about the requisite preparations for the definitive transfer of his household gods to the capital. The want of money was the grand difficulty. He owed 150 francs to his tailor, and all his available assets consisted of a dog named Pyramus, famous for voracity. This is not the precise quality which commends or adds value to an animal of  
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the canine species, yet it proved the salvation of Dumas. His dog had left him to follow a butcher loaded with half a sheep, and he was in the very act of vainly endeavouring to parry the demands of the tailor, when he was informed that an Englishman requested the honour of his company at a neighbouring inn. On repairing thither, he finds a man, 'from forty to forty-five years of age, of a reddish fair complexion, with hair like a brush, and whiskers shaped like a collar, dressed in a blue coat with metal buttons, a shamois waistcoat, and grey kerseymere breeches, with gaiters to match, such as are worn by grooms. He was seated before a table on which he had just been dining, and which exhibited the remains of a dinner for six. He might weigh from three hundred to three hundred and sixty pounds.' Seated near him, with a depressed look, was Pyramus; and around Pyramus lay ten or a dozen plates, cleaned with that neatness which characterized him in respect to dirty plates. On one, however, lay some unfinished morsels. It was evidently these that caused the depression of Pyramus. '*Venez parler à moi, Monsieur,*' said the Englishman, '*Le Dog a vos, il plait à moi.*' From a dialogue thus commenced and carried on in the same dialect by the stranger, we learn that the dog's power of eating had won his heart, '*Je aimé, moi,*' he exclaims, '*les animaux et les gens qui mangé beaucoup: c'est qu'il ont un bon estomac, et le bon estomac il faisé le bon humour.*'

Our sagacious compatriot, it will be observed, differed slightly from Lord Byron, who envies and commends the gifted mortals who have a bad heart and a good stomach, who feel little and digest well. But so much the better for Dumas, who, after a hard internal struggle with his conscience which is hushed by an opportune reminiscence of the dun, agrees to part with his four-footed friend for the moderate sum of five napoleons, only a third of the price which the fat Englishman was anxious to force upon him.

This anecdote is an apt illustration of the manner in which Dumas and other popular French authors perseveringly foster the prejudices of their countrymen. The fat and fair Englishman, with his broken French and ridiculous eccentricity, still keeps his place in their light literature and on their stage; although nearly half a century has elapsed since we, on this side of the channel, ceased to believe in brown and lean marquisses living on frogs and *soup maigre*, taking enormous quantities of snuff, wearing collars or shirt fronts for want of shirts, and gaining a scanty livelihood as fiddlers or dancing-masters. A still longer period has elapsed since we tolerated, even in a Fielding or a Smollett, the coarseness of expression which has little, if

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at all, lessened the popularity or impeded the circulation of 'Paul de Kock,' although the more fastidious portion of the Parisian public may disdainfully set down his works as '*la lecture des grisettes*.' These very Memoirs are occasionally defaced by expressions and allusions for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any respectable English publication of later date than the editions of Pope containing the Poisoning and the Circumcision of Edmund Curll.

Relieved from difficulty by his dog, like Whittington by his cat, our hero is preparing to start for Paris. The five napoleons having been reduced one-half by a payment on account to the tailor, he hits upon an ingenious expedient for defraying the expenses of his journey. He plays billiards with the bookkeeper of the *diligence* for a *petit verre d'absinthe* a game, and leaves off the winner of 600 glasses, which, at three sous each, make a total gain of ninety francs, enough to pay for twelve places to Paris. He satisfies himself with one, arrives on the scene of his future glory with his fifty francs untouched, and proceeds to look round for a protector amongst the old friends of his father on the strength of his name. He is coldly received by Marshal Gourdain, and narrates as follows the result of his visit to Marshal (then General) Sebastiani:—

'The General was in his cabinet: at the four corners of this cabinet were four secretaries, as at the four corners of our almanack are the four points of the compass or the four winds. These four secretaries were writing to his dictation. It was three less than Cæsar, but two more than Napoleon. Each of these secretaries had on his desk—besides his pen, his paper, and his penknife—a gold snuff-box which he presented open to the general, each time that the latter stopped before him. The General delicately introduced the forefinger and thumb of a hand that his half-cousin Napoleon would have envied for its whiteness, voluptuously inhaled the scent, and then resumed his walk. My visit was short. Whatever my consideration for the General, I felt little disposed to become a snuff-box bearer.'

He is coolly bowed out by another military friend of his father, and calls, as a last resource, on General Foy, to whom he has fortunately the additional recommendation of being the friend and protégé of one of the General's most influential constituents. His reception was favourable, and the following colloquy takes place:—

'“I must first know what you are good for.”—“Oh, not much.” “Of course you know a little mathematics?”—“No, General.” “You have at least some notions of algebra, of geometry, of physics?” He paused between each word, and at each word, I felt myself colouring more and more. It was the first time that I was placed face to face with  
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my ignorance.—“No, General,” I replied, stammering, “I know none of these.” “You have gone through your law course, at all events?” —“No, General.” “You know Latin and Greek?” —“Latin, a little; Greek, not a word.” “Do you speak any living language?” —“Italian.” “Do you understand accounts?” —“Not at all.” I was in torture, and he suffered visibly on my account. . . . “And yet, he resumed. I am unwilling to abandon you.” —“No, General, for you would not abandon me only. I am a dunce, an idler, it is true; but my mother, who reckons upon me, whom I have promised to find a place, my mother ought not to be punished for my ignorance and my idleness.” “Give me your address,” said the General, “I will consider, what can be made of you. There, at this desk.” He offered me the pen with which he had been writing. I took it, I looked at it, wet as it still was; then shaking my head, I returned it to him.—“No, General,” I said, “I will not write with your pen; it would be a profanation.” He smiled. “What a child you are,” he continued. Here then is a new one. I began to write, with the General looking on. Hardly had I written my name than he clapped his hands. “We are saved,” he exclaimed, “You write a good hand.” My head dropped upon my breast—I had no longer strength to bear up against my shame. A good handwriting, this was the sum total of my qualifications. This brevet of incapacity, oh! it was mine beyond dispute.’

This brevet of incapacity, however, has been possessed by a large majority of the most illustrious men of all ages, and it is only within the century that persons of superior education have deemed themselves licensed to indulge in an inconvenient and selfish degree of negligence in this respect. It will appear from any good collection of autographs that, if our ancestors were deficient in orthography, they were proficient in calligraphy, and that they became comparatively careless as to their penmanship about the time when they began to pay strict attention to their spelling. In particular, they invariably made a point of signing their names clearly and distinctly, in marked contrast to the modern fashion, which often renders it impossible to do more than guess at the identity of a correspondent. In the round-robin addressed to Dr. Johnson on the subject of Goldsmith’s epitaph (a facsimile of which is given by Boswell), the names of the most distinguished malcontents—Gibbon, Burke, Sheridan, Colman, Joseph Warton, Reynolds, &c.—although affixed at the dinner-table, bear no marks of haste or slovenliness; and amongst the French authors of the eighteenth century, the two most remarkable for the excellence of their handwriting were Voltaire and Rousseau. The press of public business may be alleged as some excuse for statesmen; whilst the hurry and flutter of composition may account for the bad writing of poets and authors of the imaginative class. When Napoleon first attained power, his



signature was of the orthodox length and character; it gradually shrank to the three first letters (Nap.); and later in his career it consisted of a dash or scrawl intended for an N. Byron latterly wrote a sad scrawl. Yet against these great names may be placed Washington, Wellington, Pitt, Fox, Canning, Peel, Moore, Rogers, Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and a host of famous contemporaries, whose example, we hope, will save both 'young France' and 'young England' from the mischievous error of ever again regarding an eminently useful and becoming accomplishment as a 'brevet of incapacity.'

On the strength of his handwriting, Dumas is received into the establishment of the Duke of Orleans (afterwards King of the French) as a clerk at sixty pounds a year, and is singularly fortunate in finding amongst his companions of the desks one duly qualified to give him some excellent advice as to his literary projects. We shall quote the best of it, the rather that we suspect Dumas of having placed the results of his own studies and experience in the mouth of his friend:—

"Whom then ought one to imitate in comedy, tragedy, the drama?" "In the first place, you ought not to imitate at all: you must study. He who follows a guide must necessarily walk behind. Do you wish to walk behind?"—"No." "Then study. Write neither comedy, nor tragedy, nor drama; take the passions, the events, the characters; melt them all together in the mould of your imagination, and make statues of Corinthian brass." "What is Corinthian brass?" "You do not know?"—"I know nothing." "You are lucky." "In what respect?" "Because you will learn all by yourself; because you will undergo no levelling process but that of your own intelligence, no rule but that of your own capacity for instruction. Corinthian brass? You must have heard that once upon a time Mummius burned Corinth. If so, you may have read that from the heat of the conflagration, gold, silver, and brass had been melted and ran in streams through the streets. Now, the mixture of these three metals, the most precious of all, formed a compound metal, which was called Corinthian brass. Well, he who shall effect, by his genius, for comedy, tragedy, and the drama, that which, unconsciously, in his ignorance, in his barbarism, Mummius did for gold, silver, and bronze,—he who shall melt by the fire of inspiration, and melt in a single mould, *Æschylus*, *Shakspeare*, and *Molière*,—he, my friend, will have discovered a brass as precious as the brass of Corinth.

'I reflected a moment on what Lapagne had said. "What you tell me, I replied, is very fine; and as it is fine it ought to be true." "Are you acquainted with *Æschylus*?"—"No." "*Shakspeare*?"—"No." "*Molière*?"—"Hardly." "Well then, read all that these three have written: when you have read them, read them a second time; when you have read them a second time, learn them by heart—and then—oh, then, you will pass from them to those who proceed from them—

them—from Eschylus to Sophocles, from Sophocles to Euripides, from Euripides to Seneca, from Seneca to Racine, from Racine to Voltaire, and from Voltaire to Chenier. So much for tragedy. Thus, you will be present at this transformation of a race of eagles, ending in parrots.

“And to whom shall I pass from Shakspeare?”—“From Shakspeare to Schiller.”—“And from Schiller?”—“To nobody.”—“But Ducis?”—“Oh, don’t let us confound Schiller with Ducis: Schiller draws inspiration, Ducis imitates; Schiller remains original: Ducis becomes a copyist, and a bad copyist.

“Now for Molière?”—“As to Molière, if you wish to study something worth the trouble, instead of descending, you will ascend from Molière to Terence, from Terence to Plautus, from Plautus to Aristophanes.”

“But Corneille, you have forgotten him, I fancy?—I do not forget him, I place him by himself, because he is neither an ancient Greek, nor an old Roman. He is a Cordovan, like Lucan; you will see, when you compare them, that his verse has a great resemblance to that of the *Pharsalia*.”

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“And in romance, what is to be done?”—“Everything, as with the theatre.” “I believed, however, that we had excellent romances.” “What have you read in this line?”—“Those of Lesage, of Madame Cottin, and of Pigault-Lebrun.” “What was their effect on you?”—“Those of Lesage amused me, those of Madame Cottin made me shed tears, those of Pigault-Lebrun made me laugh.” “Then you have read neither Goethe, nor Walter Scott, nor Cooper? Read them.

“And when I have read them, what am I to make of them?”—“Corinthian brass, as before; only you must endeavour to add a trifling ingredient which is to be found in neither one of them—passion. Goethe will give you poetry, Walter Scott the study of character, Cooper the mysterious grandeur of the prairie, the forest, and the ocean; but as for passion, you will seek for it in vain in any of them.”

As an indispensable preparation for the historical romance, he is told to read Joinville, Froissart, Monstrelet, Chatelain, Juvénal des Ursins, Montluc, Saulex-Tavannes, l’Estoile, De Retz, Saint Simon, Villars, Madame de la Fayette, Richelieu; and he then begs to have a course of poetic reading marked out for him.

“In the first place, what have you read?”—“Voltaire, Parny, Bertin, Demoustier, Legouvé, Colardeau.” “Good. Forget the whole of them. Read, in antiquity, Homer; amongst the Romans, Virgil; in the middle age, Dante. It is living marrow that I am now prescribing for you.” “And amongst the moderns?”—“Ronsard, Mathurin, Regnier, Milton, Goethe, Uhland, Byron, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and, above all, a little volume about to appear entitled *André Chenier*.”

Dumas' first publication was a volume containing three novels, entitled '*Nouvelles Contemporaines*.' He sold four copies, neither more nor less, and having contributed 300 francs (borrowed money) towards the printing, began to turn over in his mind the suggestions of an intelligent publisher: 'Make yourself a name and I will print for you:—'

'There (he continues) was the entire question. Make oneself a name. This is the condition imposed on every man who ever made himself one. This is the condition which at the moment when it was imposed on him, he has asked himself despairingly how he was to fulfil. And yet he has fulfilled it. I am no believer in unknown talent, in undiscovered genius. There were reasons for the suicide of Escousse and Lebras. It is a hard thing to say—but neither one nor the other of these two poor madmen, if he had lived, would have had at the end of twenty years of work, the reputation which the epitaph of Beranger conferred upon them.\* I therefore seriously set about making myself a name, to sell my books and not print them again at half profits.'

It was as dramatist that he was resolved to make the desecrated name; and the time was singularly opportune, for the innovating and vivifying influences which had transformed and elevated the literature of the Restoration were on the point of extending to the stage,—that stage which had survived the monarchy, survived the republic, survived the first empire, and might have survived the second but for the united and co-operating energies of two master spirits, of whom Dumas took the lead. 'Well, M. de Fontanes, have you found me a poet?' was the habitual demand of the would-be Augustus every time he met his improvised Mæcenæ. The answer was uniformly in the negative: poetry could not be made to order; poets would not be forthcoming, like armed legions, at the stamp of the iron heel of a despot. Yet they began to crop up abundantly as soon as they were allowed to breathe freely:—

'Their names gave present promise of the immense reverberation they were to produce in the future. Lamartine, Hugo, De Vigny, Sainte Beuve, Méry, Scribe, Barbier, Alfred de Musset, Balzac—these fed with their sap or rather with their blood that large and unique spring of poetry at which the whole nineteenth century, France, Europe, the universe, were to drink. But the movement was not only in this pleiad: an entire soldiery were engaged, co-operating in a

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\* Escousse and Lebras were two young men who, on the failure of a small piece at a minor theatre, shut themselves up in a garret with a pan of charcoal and suffocated themselves. Escousse left in prose and verse pathetic appeals to the press to do justice to his memory, and especially to state that "Escousse killed himself because he felt his place was not here, because the love of glory did not sufficiently animate his soul, if he had a soul."

general work by particular attacks: it was who should batter the old poetry in breach. Dittmer and Cavé published the *Soirées de Neuilly*: Vitot, the *Barricades* and the *États de Blois*: Mérimée the "*Théâtre de Clara Gazul*." And observe well that all this was beside the theatre, beside the acting drama, beside the real struggle. The real struggle, it was myself and Hugo—I am speaking chronologically—who were about to engage in it.

This claim is recognised and confirmed by Sir Henry Bulwer (Lord Dalling), writing in the height of the contest between the Classicists and Romanticists, intimately acquainted with both schools and fully imbued with the spirit of the period:

'This (the age of Louis Quatorze) was a great period of the human mind, and, from this period to our own, tragedy has taken but one giant stride. The genius which governed the theatre stood unappalled, when the genius that had founded the throne lay prostrate. The reign of Robespierre did not disturb the rule of Racine. The republican Chénier, erect and firm before the tyranny of Bonaparte, bowed before the tyranny of the Academy. The translations of Ducis were an homage to the genius of Shakspeare but no change in the dramatic art. In M. Delavigne you see the old school modernized but it is the old school. I pass by M. de Vigny who has written "*La Maréchale d'Ancre*:" I pass by M. Soulier, who has written "*Clotilde*:" I pass by the followers to arrive at the chiefs of the new drama, M. Victor Hugo and M. Alexandre Dumas.\*

The bare definition of the rival schools went far in popular opinion to decide the merits of the controversy. 'Romanticism,' says Beyle, 'is the art of presenting a people with the literary works which, in the actual condition of their habits and modes of faith, are capable of affording them the greatest possible amount of pleasure. Classicism, on the contrary, presents them with the literature which afforded the greatest possible amount of pleasure to their great grandfathers.' It was a clear gain to the dramatist to be emancipated from the rigid observance of the unities, to be free to choose subjects from modern history or the ordinary walks of life, to drape them appropriately, and make them talk naturally, instead of being tied down to Greek and Roman models, or rather what passed for Greek and Roman amongst the courtiers of the Grand Monarque. But a revolution in literature and art is as difficult to moderate as a revolution in government: it is idle to play Canute, and say 'thus far shalt thou go and no farther' to the advancing waves of thought: we must take the evil with the good: and it was Victor Hugo himself who drew a parallel between the excesses of the Reign of

\* 'France, Social, Literary, Political.' By Henry Lytton Bulwer, Esq., M.P. In two volumes. London, 1834.

Terror and what he called the nightmares of the new school, as the necessities or inevitable results of progress. The extravagance to which they pushed their doctrine may be collected from the fact that, on the night of their crowning triumph after the first representation of 'Henri Trois,' a party of them formed a ring by joining hands in the *foyer* of the Theatre Français, and danced round the bust of Racine, shouting in chorus, '*Enfoncè, Racine ! Enfoncè, Racine !*' Dumas, to do him justice, never lost his reverence for the best classic models, and in the first of his accepted dramas, 'Christine,' he was obviously still trammelled by their rules. The representation of this play was indefinitely postponed through a theatrical intrigue, which is amusingly detailed in the Memoirs—

'What happened to me during this period of suspense. One of those accidents which only happen to the predestined gave me the subject of Henri Trois as another had given me the subject of Christine. The only cupboard in my bureau was common to Ferisse (his fellow-clerk) and me. In it, I kept my paper: he, his bottles. One day whether by inadvertence or to establish the superiority of his rights, he took away the key of this cupboard. Having three or four documents to transcribe, and being out of paper, I repaired to the accountant's office to get some. A volume of Anquetil lay open upon a desk: I cast my eyes mechanically on the page and read what follows.'

What he read was a scene between the Duc de Guise and the Duchesse, in which the Duc compels her to choose between the dagger and the bowl. This led Dumas to study the domestic history of the pair and the manners of the period. The result was the play familiar to English readers as 'Catherine of Cleves.' It succeeded, and deserved to succeed: the historical portraits were true and life-like; the tone and manners in perfect keeping with the times; and the leading scenes admirably adapted for effect. The part of the Duchess was played by Mademoiselle Mars, who was the tyrant of the green-room as well as the queen of the stage:—

'“After the reading, I was summoned to the director's cabinet, where I found Mademoiselle Mars, who began with that sort of brutality which was habitual to her!—“Ah, it is you? We must take care not to make the same *betises* as in 'Christine.' “What *betises*, Madame?”—“In the distribution of parts.”—“True, I had the honour of giving you the part of Christine, and you have not acted it.”—“That may be: there is a good deal to be said on that subject; but I promise you I will play that of the Duchess of Guise.”—“Then, you take it?”—“Of course. Was it not intended for me?”—“Certainly, Madame.”—“Well then.”—“Therefore I thank you most sincerely.” Now, the Duc de Guise. To whom do you give the Duc de Guise?’

They

They differ upon this part and two or three others which Dumas refuses to her friends—

“So far so good: now for the page. I play three scenes with him. I give you fair warning that I insist on some one who suits me for this part.”—“There is Madame Menjaud, who will play it to admiration.”—“Madame de Menjaud has talent, but she wants the physical qualities for the part.”—“Oh, this is too much! And doubtless this part is given too?”—“Yes Madame, it is, to Mademoiselle Louise Despreaux.” “Choose her for a page!” “Why not? Is she not pretty?”—“Oh yes, but it is not enough to be pretty.” “Has she not talent?”—“It may come in time; but make that little girl play the page!” “I am ready to listen to any good reason why she should not.”—“Well then, see her in tights; and you will see that she is horribly knockkneed.”

\* \* \* \* \*

‘I made my bow and took my departure, leaving Mademoiselle Mars stupefied. It was the first time an author had held out against her. I must confess, however, that the legs of my page kept running in my head.’

The young lady turned out an unexceptional page in all respects; and Dumas explains that the real objection to her was her youth. Mademoiselle Mars at fifty-one did not wish to be brought into close contact with sweet seventeen.

From the moment Dumas took up the position of—

‘Some youth his parents’ wishes doom’d to cross,  
Who pens a stanza when he should engross,

his official superiors lost no opportunity of finding fault with him, and at length the Duc d’Orleans was overpersuaded to write against his name: *Supprimer les gratifications de M. Alexandre Dumas, qui s’occupe de littérature*. Unabashed by this marked disapproval, Dumas, the day before the first performance of his play, boldly presented himself at the Palais Royal and demanded to speak with his royal master. Under the belief that he came by appointment, he was admitted.

“So, M. Dumas, it is you. What good wind brings you or rather brings you back?”—“Monseigneur, ‘Henri Trois’ is to be brought out to-morrow, and I came to ask a favour or rather an act of justice, to attend my first representation. During a full year passed since your Highness has been assured that I am a vain, headstrong, foolish fellow: during a full year I have maintained that I am a humble and hardworking poet: you have sided, without hearing me, with my accusers. Happily your Highness should have waited: your Highness judged differently and has not waited. To-morrow the cause comes before the public to be judged. Be present, Monseigneur, at the judgment. This is the prayer I am come to prefer.

“With

"With the greatest pleasure," replied the Prince, after a brief hesitation, "but unluckily it is impossible, judge for yourself. I have twenty or thirty princes and princesses to dinner to-morrow." "Does your Highness believe that the first performance of 'Henri Trois' would be a curious spectacle to offer to these princes and princesses?" "How can I offer to them? The dinner is at six and the performance begins at seven."—"Let Monseigneur put on the dinner an hour, I will put off 'Henri Trois' an hour. Your Highness will have three hours to satisfy the appetites of your august guests." "But where shall I put them, I have only three boxes?"—"I have requested the administration not to dispose of the gallery till I should have seen your Highness." "You took for granted then that I should consent to attend."—"I reckoned on your justice. . . . Monseigneur, I appeal to Philip sober."

This was published, and passed unchallenged, when Philip sober was on the throne. The house was crowded with princes and notabilities: twenty louis were given for a box. The fate of the piece hung on the third act, especially on the scene where the Duc, grasping his wife's wrist with his gauntleted hand, compels her to write the note of assignation to Saint Megrin. 'This scene raised cries of terror, but simultaneously elicited thunders of applause: it was the first time that dramatic scenes of such force, I may also say of such brutality, had been risked upon the boards.' At the conclusion of the third act, he hurries off to the sickbed of his mother, and returns just in time to witness a complete success and receive the enthusiastic congratulations of his friends. 'Few men have seen so rapid a change operated in their life as was operated in mine during the five hours that the representation lasted. Completely unknown the evening before, I was the talk of all Paris, for evil or for good, on the morrow. There are enmities, enmities of persons I have never seen, enmities that date from the obtrusive noise made by my name at this epoch. There are friendships, too, that date from it. How many envied me this evening, who little thought that I passed the night on a mattress by the bedside of my dying mother.'

The Duc d'Orleans (Louis Philippe) was present at the second representation also, and called Dumas to his box. After the expected compliments and congratulations, he was informed that he had nearly got his royal patron into a scrape—

"How so, Monseigneur?" "Why, *apropos* of your drama. The king (Charles X.) sent for me yesterday, and began: '*Mon Cousin* (laying a marked emphasis on our relationship), I am told that you have in your employment a young man who has written a play in which we both have parts, I that of Henri Trois, and you that of the Duc de Guise.'—"Your highness might have replied that this young  
man

man was no longer in your employment." "No, I declined saying what was not true, for I retain you." I replied, 'Sire, you have been misinformed for three reasons. The first is that I do not use personal violence to my wife; the second, that she is not unfaithful to me; the third, that your Majesty has no more faithful subject than myself.' Is not this a better reply than the one you suggested to me?"

An attempt was made to prevent the second representation of the piece through the censorship, and, on this failing, a formal protest against its admission into the repertory of the *Theatre Français*, signed by seven men of letters more or less eminent, was presented to the King, who replied, in terms no doubt suggested by his Minister, Martignac:—

"Messieurs : Je ne puis rien pour ce que vous desirez ; je n'ai, comme tous les Français, qu' une place au parterre."

The utmost that could be urged against the originality of this play was that two or three incidents had been borrowed and turned to good account. The act of violence by which the Duc de Guise extorts the signature of his wife was probably suggested by the scene in '*The Abbot*' between Lord Lindsay and Queen Mary. In '*The Conspiracy of Venice*,' Fiesco's suspicions are excited by finding his wife's handkerchief wet with tears in a room which she and Calcagno have just left; and the Duchesse de Guise's handkerchief, found in a compromising spot, is what first turns the Duc's suspicions on her lover. This incident gave rise to the following epigram, preserved by Lord Dalling:—

'Messieurs et Mesdames, cette pièce est morale,  
Elle prouve aujourd'hui sans faire de scandale,  
Que chez un amant, lorsqu'on va le soir,  
On peut oublier tout—excepté son mouchoir.'

Although the accusation of immorality was unscrupulously brought against the chiefs of the romantic school, they were not more open to it than the classicists in regard to the choice of subjects, so long as these were taken from history. The most repulsive subject ever chosen by either of them, that of '*La Tour de Nesle*' for example, was not more repulsive than that of '*Medea*' or '*Oedipus*;' and neither Lucrece Borgia nor Marion Delorme could be put to shame by Phèdre, who sums up her ruling passion in one line:—

'C'est Venus tout entière à sa proie attachée.'

A plot laid in the middle ages, in a corrupt French or Italian court, should be judged by the same rules as one laid in Thebes or Colchis. Nor should a poet or dramatist be summarily condemned for immorality, merely because he describes immoral actions,



actions, or brings immoral characters on the stage, so long as these are true to nature and correct representatives of their epoch, with its passions, its vices, and its crimes. Dramas can no more be compounded entirely of virtue, than revolutions can be made with rose-water. It was when Dumas abandoned the past for the present, forsook romance for reality, chose his heroes and heroines from modern life, and bade us sympathise with their perverted notions of right and wrong, their systematic defiance of all social ties, their sensuality, and their selfishness,—when, in short, he ‘dressed up the nineteenth century in a livery of heroism, turned up with assassination and incest,’ that he justly fell within the critic’s ban, and gave point to the most stinging epigram levelled at his school:—

‘A croire ces Messieurs, on ne trouve dans les rues,  
Que des enfants trouvés et des femmes perdues.’

In his drama of ‘Antony’ he set all notions of morality at defiance; yet his bitterest opponents were obliged to confess that it bore the strongest impress of originality, and that its faults were quite as much those of the epoch, of the applauding public, as of the author. ‘It contains,’ says one of them, ‘badly put together, illogical and odious as it is, scenes of touching sensibility and intense pathos.’ ‘It is perhaps the play,’ says Lord Dalling, ‘in which the public have seen most to admire. The plot is simple, the action rapid; each act contains an event, and each event develops the character, and tends to the catastrophe.’

Antony is a man formed after the Byronic model, gloomy and saturnine, whose birth (illegitimate) and position are a mystery. He is in love with Adèle, a young lady of family and fortune, who returns his passion, but not venturing to propose to her, he suddenly disappears, and is absent for three years; at the end of which he returns to find her the wife of Colonel d’Ilverve, with a daughter.

In the first Act an opportune accident causes him to be domiciled in her house whilst her husband is away.\* Explanations take place. He eloquently expatiates on his love, his heart-broken condition, his despair; and Adèle, distrusting her own powers of prolonged resistance, suddenly gives him the slip, orders post-horses, and makes the best of her way to join the Colonel at Frankfort. She is pursued by Antony, who passes her on the road, arrives first at the little inn at which she is

\* *Apropos* of plagiarism, this mode of bringing the lover under the conjugal roof is employed by Charles de Bernard in his fascinating novel, ‘Gerfaul,’  
compelled

compelled to sleep for want of post-horses, and makes arrangements as to rooms, which may be collected from the result.

*Adèle.* Jamais il n'est arrivé d'accident dans cet hôtel ?

*L'Hotesse.* Jamais . . . Si Madame veut, je ferai veiller quelqu'un ?

*Adèle.* Non, non . . . au fait, pardon . . . laissez-moi . . . (*Elle rentre dans le cabinet et ferme la porte.*)

*Antony paraît sur le balcon, derrière la fenêtre, casse un carreau, passe son bras, ouvre l'espagnolette, entre vivement, et va mettre le verrou à la porte par laquelle est sortie l'hotesse.*

*Adèle (sortant du cabinet).* Du bruit . . . un homme . . . ah ! . . .

*Antony.* Silence ! . . . (*La prenant dans ses bras et lui mettant un mouchoir sur la bouche.*) C'est moi . . . moi, Antony . . . (*Il l'entraîne dans le cabinet.*)

This is the end of the third Act. In the fourth, the lovers are again in Paris and suffering tortures from the sarcasms and covert allusions of their social circle, in which their inn adventure has got wind. Antony, hearing that the Colonel will arrive within the hour, has only just time to prepare Adèle for the meeting. We borrow Lord Dalling's translation of the catastrophe :—

*Adèle.* Oh ! it's he . . . Oh ! my God ! my God ! Have pity on me ! pardon, pardon !

*Antony.* Come, it is over now !

*Adèle.* Somebody's coming upstairs . . . somebody rings. It's my husband—fly, fly !

*Antony (fastening the door).* Not I—I fly not . . . Listen ! . . . You said just now that you did not fear death.

*Adèle.* No, no . . . Oh ! kill me, for pity's sake.

*Antony.* A death that would save thy reputation, that of thy child ?

*Adèle.* I'll beg for it on my knees.

(*A voice from without. "Open, open ! break open the door !"*)

*Antony.* And in thy last breath thou wilt not curse thy assassin ?

*Adèle.* I'll bless him—but be quick . . . that door.

*Antony.* Fear nothing ! death shall be here before any one. But reflect on it well—death !

*Adèle.* I beg it—wish it—implore it (*throwing herself into his arms*)—I come to seek it.

*Antony (kissing her).* Well then, die.

(*He stabs her with a poniard.*)

*Adèle (falling into a faint).* Ah !

(*At the same moment the door is forced open, Col. d'Hervey rushes on the stage.*)

#### SCENE IV.

*Col. d'Hervey, Antony, Adèle, and different servants.*

*Col. d'Hervey.* Wretch !—What do I see ?—Adèle !

*Antony.* Dead, yes, dead !—she resisted me, and I assassinated her.

(*He throws his dagger at the Colonel's feet.*)

In point of conventional delicacy or propriety, the action of this play is not more objectionable than 'La Grand Duchesse,' and even the concluding scene of the third Act is not more hazardous than the critical one in 'Tartuffe,' nor than the famous scene in 'Les Intimes,' which, after an unavailing remonstrance from our decorous and esteemed Lord Chamberlain, Mademoiselle Fargueil played not many weeks since, in her own manner, to one of the most aristocratic audiences which this metropolis could supply. But the profound immorality, the ingrained corruption and perversion of principle, the mockery of sensibility, which pervade 'Antony,' and struck a sympathetic chord in a highly cultivated audience (half the notabilities of Paris being present at the first representation) are positively startling. There is nothing to idealise; nothing to throw a delusive halo over vice; not a particle of ennobling passion—

‘That exquisite passion—ay, exquisite, even  
In the ruin its madness too often hath made,  
As it keeps even then a bright trace of the heaven,  
The heaven of virtue, from which it has strayed.’

What one redeeming quality has Adèle, who only shrinks from remaining under the conjugal roof, and affecting innocence, for fear of discovery? What one redeeming quality has Antony, if we except the nerve to perpetrate crime and the courage to face the criminal court? He is hard, selfish, material, brutal throughout; and the crowning atrocity is an absurdity. There is a charming novel by Count de Jarnac in which the hero endures torture, and is ready to endure death, rather than compromise a woman. This is natural and (it is to be hoped) not very improbable. But how could Antony hope to silence a scandal, which was already the talk of Paris, by deepening it? What human being would believe that he had killed his known, almost avowed, mistress for resisting him! But the French mind, or rather the mind of the French play-going public, is so constituted that a moral paradox or sentimental extravagance fascinates them, and they will applaud impulsively whatever creates a sensation or excites, however false or foolish in conception or in act. And that public, when 'Antony' was brought out, was still fevered and disordered, still seething and surging, from the Revolution of July. The subversive spirit was in the ascendant: established rules and principles had shared the fate of established institutions: the legitimate drama had fallen with the legitimate monarchy; and the Academy was at a discount like the throne.

The

The sole place of refuge for the classic muse, the single fane at which the sacred fire was still kept burning by her worshippers, was the Theatre Français. Yet it only escaped profanation by a caprice. 'Antony' had been accepted there: an early day had been fixed for the first representation, and the company were assembled for the last rehearsal, when Dumas hurries in with excuses for being late, and the following dialogue takes place between him and Mademoiselle Mars, who was to play Adèle:—

'Mars. The delay is of no consequence; you have heard what has happened? We are to have a new chandelier, and be lighted with gas!

D. So much the better.

M. Not exactly; I have laid out 1200 francs (sixty pounds) for your piece. I have four different *toilettes*.\* I wish them to be seen; and since we are to have a new chandelier——

D. How soon?

M. In three months.

D. Well!

M. Well, we will play *Antony* to inaugurate the new lustre.'

The new lustre was a pretence. The company of the classical theatre had resolved not to act the piece. It was immediately transferred to the more congenial atmosphere of the Porte St. Martin, to which Victor Hugo emigrated about the same time; and this theatre thenceforth became the head-quarters of their school. The part of Adèle was played by Madame Dorval, and played *con amore* in every sense of the phrase. On learning the arrival of her husband, Adèle exclaims, *Mais je suis perdue, moi!* At the last rehearsal, Madame Dorval was still at a loss how to give full effect to these words, and, stepping forward, requested to speak to the author. 'How did Mademoiselle Mars say *Mais je suis perdue, moi?*' 'She was sitting down, and she stood up.' 'Good,' replied Dorval, 'I will be standing up, and sit down.' On the first night of the performance, owing to some inadvertence, the arm-chair into which she was to drop was not properly placed, and she fell back against the arm, but the words were given with so thrilling an expression of despair that the house rang with applause.

The key to the plot being in the last position and last words, the angry disappointment of the audience may be guessed, when one evening the stage-manager let down the curtain as soon as Antony had stabbed Adèle. *Le dénouement! Le dénouement!* was the sustained cry from every part of the house;

\* We beg our female readers to mark this and meditate on it. Four complete *toilettes* or costumes for sixty pounds!

till Madame Dorval resumed her recumbent position as dead or dying woman to complete the performance. But Bocage (who acted Antony), furious at the blunder, stayed away, and the call was renewed in menacing tones, when Dorval raised her drooping head, reanimated her inert form, advanced to the foot-lights, and in the midst of a dead silence, gave the words with a startling and telling variation: *Messieurs, je lui résistais, il m'a assassinée.* Dumas complacently records this incident with apparent unconsciousness of the ridicule which it mingles with the supposed pathos or horror of the catastrophe.

The chief honours of the poetical revolution are assigned by Dumas to Lamartine and Hugo, but the dramatic revolution, he insists, began with the first representation of 'Henri Trois.' Hugo, an anxious spectator, was one of the first to offer his congratulations. 'It is now my turn,' were his words to Dumas, 'and I invite you to be present at the first reading.' The day following he chose his subject; and 'Marion Delorme,' begun on the 1st June, 1829, was finished on the 27th. Dumas was true to his engagement, and at the end of the reading he exclaimed to the Director—'We are all done brown (*flambés*) if Victor has not this very day produced the best piece he ever will produce—only I believe he has.' 'Why so?' 'Because there are in "Marion Delorme" all the qualities of the mature author, and none of the faults of the young one. Progress is impossible for any one who begins by a complete or nearly complete work.'

'Marion Delorme' was stopped by the Censorship, and did not appear till after 'Antony.' The striking similarity between the two heroes of the two pieces respectively, raised and justified a cry that one was copied from the other, and suspicion fell upon Hugo, who came last before the public; when Dumas gallantly stepped forward and declared that, if there was any plagiarism in the matter, he was the guilty person, since, before writing 'Antony,' he had attended the reading of 'Marion Delorme.'

An amusing instance of the manner in which Hugo was piqued into abandoning the Theatre Français for the Porte St. Martin, is related by Dumas. At the rehearsal of 'Hernani,' the author, as usual, being seated in the pit, Mademoiselle Mars, who played Doña Sol, came forward to the foot-lights, and shading her eyes with her hand and affecting not to see Hugo, asked if he was there. He rose and announced his presence:—

"Ah, good. Tell me, M. Hugo, I have to speak this verse—

*Vous êtes mon lion ! Superbe et généreux.*

"Yes, Madame, Hernani says—

Holas !

Helas ! j'aime pourtant d'un amour bien profond !  
 No pleure pas . . . mourons plutôt. Quo n'ai-je un monde,  
 Je te le donnerais ! . . . Je suis bien malheureux."

"And you reply—

Vous êtes mon lion ! Superbe et généreux.

"And you like that, M. Hugo ? To say the truth, it seems so droll for me to call M. Firmin *mon lion*."

"Ah, because in playing the part of Doña Sol, you wish to continue Mademoiselle Mars. If you were truly the ward of Ruy Gomez de Sylva, a noble Castilian of the sixteenth century, you would not see M. Firmin in Hernani ; you would see one of those terrible leaders of bands that made Charles V. tremble in his capital. You would feel that such a woman may call such a man her *lion*, and you would not think it droll."

"Very well ; since you stick to your lion, I am here to speak what is set down for me. There is *mon lion* in the manuscript, so here goes, M. Firmin—

Vous êtes mon lion ! Superbe et généreux."

At the actual representation she broke faith, and substituted *Monseigneur* for *mon lion*, which (at all events from the author's point of view) was substituting prose for poetry. Nothing can be more injudicious or vain than the attempt to tone down a writer of originality or force ; for the electric chain of imagination or thought may be broken by the change or omission of a word. The romantic school which delighted in hazardous effects,—in effects often resting on the thin line which separates the sublime from the ridiculous,—could least of all endure this description of criticism. Dumas suffered like his friend ; and their concerted secession to the Porte St. Martin was a prudent as well as inevitable step.

At this theatre Dumas was like the air, a chartered libertine ; and here he brought out a succession of pieces, which, thanks to his prodigality of resource and unrivalled knowledge of stage effect, secured and permanently retained an applauding public, although many of them seemed written to try to what extent the recognised rules of art might be set aside. To take 'La Tour de Nesle,' for example, we agree with Lord Dalling, that judging by the ordinary rules of criticism, it is a melodramatic monstrosity ; but if you think that to seize, to excite, to suspend, to transport the feelings of an audience, to keep them with an eye eager, an attention unflagged, from the first scene to the last—if you think that to do this is to be a dramatist, that to have done this is to have written a drama—bow down to M. Dumas or M. Gaillard, to the author of 'Tour de Nesle' whoever he be, that man is a dramatist, the piece he has written is a drama,—

'Go

'Go and see it! There is great art, great nature, great improbability, all massed and mingled all together in the rapid rush of terrible things, which pour upon you, press upon you, keep you fixed to your seat, breathless, motionless. And then a pause comes—the piece is over—you shake your head, you stretch your limbs, you still feel shocked, bewildered, and walk home as if awakened from a terrible nightmare. Such is the effect of the "Tour de Nesle."'

Such *was* the effect when Mademoiselle Georges played Marguerite, and Frederic Le Maître, Buridan; and (independently of the acting) the rapid succession of surprises make it a masterpiece in its way. No one can doubt that these are the creation of Dumas, along with everything else that constitutes the distinctive merits or demerits of the piece. We should also say, Go and see Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle; you will follow the action with wrapt and constantly growing interest; and you will listen to sparkling dialogue, exquisitely adapted to the characters.

It was as a dramatist that Dumas became famous, although his world-wide renown is owing to his romances, which he composed at headlong speed, contemporaneously with his dramas, without much adding to his reputation until 1844-15, when he published '*Les Trois Mousquetaires*,' '*Vingt ans Après*,' and '*Monte Christo*,' the most popular of his works. There is hardly an inhabited district, in either hemisphere, in which Dumas, pointing to a volume of one of them, might not exclaim like Johnson pointing to a copy of the duodecimo edition of his Dictionary in a country-house:—

'*Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?*'

They have remained the most popular, and remained moreover exclusively associated with his name, although the authorship has been confidently assigned by critics of repute to others, and the most persistent ridicule has been levelled at their conception, their composition, their materials, and their plan. Amongst the most mischievous assailants was Thackeray, in a letter addressed to M. le Marquis Davy de la Pailleterie, printed in the '*Revue Britannique*' for January, 1847. We give a specimen:—

'As for me, I am a decided partisan of the new system of which you are the inventor in France. I like your romances in one-and-twenty volumes, whilst regretting all the time that there are so many blank pages between your chapters, and so small an amount of printed matter in your pages. I, moreover, like your continuations. I have not skipped a word of "*Monte Christo*," and it made me quite happy when, after having read eight volumes of the "*Trois Mousquetaires*," I saw M. Rolandi, the excellent circulating-library man, who supplies me with books, bring me ten more under the title of "*Vingt*  
Ans

Ans Après." May you make Athos, Porthos, and Aramis live a hundred years, to treat us to twelve volumes more of their adventures! May the physician (Mélécin) whose "*Mémoires*" you have taken in hand, beginning them at the commencement of the reign of Louis XV., make the fortunes of the apothecaries of the Revolution of July by his prescriptions!

Innumerable readers would reciprocate in earnest the wishes thus ironically expressed, and Thackeray might have remembered that length is more a merit than an objection so long as interest is kept up. It is strange, too, that he should have hailed Dumas as the inventor of the voluminous novel, particularly after calling attention to the blank pages between his chapters and the small amount of printed matter in his pages. There is an English translation of '*Les Trois Mousquetaires*,' in one royal octavo volume, and of '*Monte Christo*' in three volumes octavo. The seven volumes of '*Clarissa Harlow*' contain more printed matter than the longest of Dumas' romances. Mademoiselle Scudery beats him hollow in length, and might be apostrophised like her brother—

'Bienheureux Scudery, dont la fertile plume,  
Peut tous les mois sans peine enfanter un volume.'

So does Restif de la Bretonne, one of the most popular novelists of the eighteenth century, whose '*Les Contemporaines*' is in forty-two volumes.

So much for length. In point of plot, they are on a par with '*Don Quixote*' and '*Gil Blas*;' in point of incident, situation, character, animated narrative, and dialogue, they will rarely lose by comparison with the author of '*Waverley*.' Compare, for example, the scene in '*Les Trois Mousquetaires*' between Buckingham and Anne of Austria, with the strikingly analogous scene between Leicester and Elizabeth in '*Kenilworth*.'

If Dumas occasionally spun out his romances till they grew wearisome, it was not because he was incapable of compressing them. His '*Chevalier d'Harmenthal*,' which we ourselves are inclined to consider one of his best novels, is contained in three volumes. His '*Impressions de Voyage*' abound in short novels and stories, which are quite incomparable in their way, like pictures by Meissonnier and Gerome. Take for dramatic effect the story told by the monk of '*La Chartreuse*;' or, for genuine humour, that of Pierrot, the donkey, who had such a terror of both fire and water that they were obliged to blind him before passing a forge or a bridge. The explanation is, that two young Parisians had hired him for a journey; and having recently suffered from cold, they hit upon an expedient which they carried into execution without delay. They began by putting a layer of wet turf upon



his back, then a layer of snow, then another layer of turf, and lastly a bundle of firewood, which they lighted, and thus improvised a moveable fire to warm them on their walk. All went well till the turf was dried and the fire reached poor Pierrot's back, when he set off braying, kicking, and rolling, till he rolled into an icy stream, where he lay for some hours; so as to be half frozen after being half roasted. Hence the combination of hydrophobia and pyrophobia which afflicted him.

Where Dumas erred and fell behind was in pushing to excess the failing with which Byron reproached Scott—

‘Let others spin their meagre brains for hire,  
Enough for genius if itself inspire.’

He could not resist the temptation of making hay whilst the sun shone—of using his popularity as if, like the purse of Fortunatus, it had been inexhaustible—of overtasking his powers till, like the overtaken elephant, they proved unequal to the call. There was a period, near the end of his life, when Theodore Hook, besides editing a newspaper and a magazine, was (to use his own expression) driving three novels or stories abreast—in other words, contemporaneously composing them. Dumas boasts of having engaged for five at once; and the tradesmanlike manner in which he made his bargains was remarkable. ‘M. Véron (the proprietor of the ‘*Constitutionnel*’) came to me and said: “We are ruined if we do not publish, within eight days, an amusing, sparkling, interesting romance.” “You require a volume: that is 6000 lines, that is 135 pages of my writing. Here is paper; number and mark (*paraphez*) 135 pages.”

Sued for non-performance of contract, and pleading his own cause, he magniloquently apostrophised the Court. ‘The Academicians are Forty. Let them contract to supply you with eighty volumes in a year: they will make you bankrupt! Alone I have done what never man did before, nor ever will do again.’ We need hardly add that the stipulated work was imperfectly and unequally done—

‘Sunt bona, sunt mediocria, sunt mala plura.’

Du Halde is said to have composed his ‘*Description Géographique et Historique*’ of China without quitting Paris, and Dumas certainly wrote ‘*Quinze Jours au Sinai*’ and ‘*De Paris à Astracan*,’ without once setting foot in Asia. But most of his ‘*Impressions de Voyage*,’ in France, Italy, Spain, &c., were the results of actual travel; and his expedition to Algeria in a Government steamer, with a literary mission from the Government, gave rise to an animated debate in the Chamber of Deputies (February 10, 1847), in which he was rudely handled till M. de Salvandy

Salvandy (Minister of Public Instruction) came to the rescue, and, after justifying the mission, added—‘The same writer had received similar missions under administrations anterior to mine.’ Dumas (we are assured) meditated a challenge to M. Leon de Malleville for injurious words spoken in this debate, and requested M. Viennet, as President of the Society of Men of Letters, to act as his friend. M. Viennet, after desiring the request to be reduced to writing, wrote a formal refusal, alleging that M. Dumas, having in some sort, before the civil tribunal of the Seine, abdicated the title of man of letters to assume that of marquis, had no longer a claim on the official head of the literary republic. Hereupon the meditated challenge was given up. The representation of ‘*Les Mohicans de Paris*,’ a popular drama brought out by Dumas in 1864, having been prohibited by the Censorship, he addressed and printed a spirited remonstrance to the Emperor:

‘Sire,—There were in 1830, and there are still, three men at the head of French literature. These three men are Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and myself.

‘Victor Hugo is proscribed; Lamartine is ruined. People cannot proscribe me like Hugo; there is nothing in my life, in my writings, or in my words, for proscription to fasten on. But they can ruin me like Lamartine; and in effect they are ruining me.

‘I know not what ill-will animates the censorship against me. I have written and published twelve hundred volumes. It is not for me to appreciate them in a literary point of view. Translated into all languages, they have been as far as steam could carry them. Although I am the least worthy of the three, these volumes have made me, in the five parts of the world, the most popular of the three; perhaps because one is a thinker, the other a dreamer, and I am but a vulgariser (*vulgarisateur*).

‘Of these twelve hundred volumes, there is not one which may not be given to read to a workman of the Faubourg St. Antoine, the most republican, or to a young girl of the Faubourg St. Germain, the most modest, of all our faubourgs.’

His politics were never incendiary or dangerous in any way. They were always those of a moderate Republican, and he consistently adhered to them. His best romances rarely transgress against propriety, and are entirely free from that hard, cold, sceptical, materialist, illusion-destroying tone, which is so repelling in Balzac and many others of the most popular French novelists. But Dumas must have formed a strange notion of the young ladies of the noble Faubourg to suppose that they could sit out a representation of ‘*Antony*’ or ‘*Angèle*’ without a blush. After recapitulating the misdeeds of the imperial censorship and the enormous losses he had sustained, he concludes:—

'I appeal, then, for the first time, and probably for the last, to the prince whose hand I had the honour to clasp at Arenenberg, at Ham, and at the Elysée, and who, having found me in the character of proselyte on the road of exile and on that of the prison, has never found me in the character of petitioner on the road of the Empire.'

The Emperor, who never turned a deaf ear on a proselyte or companion on either road, immediately caused the prohibition to be withdrawn. Amongst the many strange episodes of Dumas' adventurous and erratic career was his connection with Garibaldi, who made him Director of the Museum at Naples during the interregnum. The illness which ended with his death, brought on a complete paralysis of all his faculties, and he died towards the close of 1870, happily insensible to the hourly increasing disasters and humiliations of his country.

Occurring at a less anxious and occupied period, his death would have been commemorated as one of the leading events of the year, and it would hardly have been left to a foreign journal to pay the first earnest tribute to his memory. Take him for all in all, he richly merits a niche in the Temple of Fame; and what writer does not who has been unceasingly before the public for nearly half a century without once forfeiting his popularity? whose multifarious productions have been equally and constantly in request in London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Calcutta, Sydney, and New York. Think of the amount of amusement and information he has diffused, the weary hours he has helped to while away, the despondency he has lightened, the sick-beds he has relieved, the gay fancies, the humorous associations, the inspiring thoughts, we owe to him. To lie on a sofa and read eternal new novels of Marivaux and Crebillon, was the *beau idéal*, the day dream, of Gray, one of the finest and most fastidious minds of the eighteenth century; and what is there of Marivaux or Crebillon to compete in attractiveness with the wondrous fortunes of a Monte Christo or the chivalrous adventures of a D'Artagnan?

A title to fame, like a chain of proofs, may be cumulative. It may rest on the multiplicity and universality of production and capacity. Voltaire, for example, who symbolizes an age, produced no one work in poetry or prose that approximates to first rate in its kind, if we except 'Candide' and 'Zadig;' and their kind is not the first. Dumas must be judged by the same standard; as one who was at everything in the ring, whose foot was ever in the stirrup, whose lance was ever in the rest, who infused new life into the acting drama, indefinitely extended the domain of fiction, and (in his 'Impressions de Voyage') invented a new literature of the road. So judged—as he will be,  
when

when French criticism shall raise its drooping head and have time to look about it—he will certainly take rank as one of the three or four most popular, influential, and gifted writers that the France of the nineteenth century has produced.

- ART. VIII.—1. *A Refutation of the Wage-Fund Theory of Modern Political Economy as enunciated by Mr. Mill, M.P., and Mr. Fawcett, M.P.* By Francis D. Longe, Barrister-at-Law. London, 1866.
2. *On Labour: Its Wrongful Claims and Rightful Dues; Its Actual Present and Possible Future.* By William Thomas Thornton, Author of 'A Plea for Peasant Proprietors,' &c. Second Edition. London, 1870.
3. *Pauperism: Its Causes and Remedies.* By Henry Fawcett, M.A., M.P., Fellow of Trinity Hall, and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge. London, 1871.
4. *Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries.* A Series of Essays published under the Sanction of the Cobden Club. London, 1870.
5. *Land Systems and Industrial Economy of Ireland, England, and Continental Countries.* By T. E. Cliffe Leslie, LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, Examiner in Political Economy in the University of London, and Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in the Queen's University in Ireland, and Queen's College, Belfast. London, 1870.
6. *Programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association.* With an Explanatory Statement by John Stuart Mill. London, 1871.
7. *Trades' Unions Abroad, and Hints for Home Legislation, Reprinted from a Report on the Amsterdam Exhibition of Domestic Economy for the Working Classes.* By the Hon. T. J. Hovell Thurlow. Second Edition. London, 1871.

WE have no objection to Utopias frankly set forth as such, whether in prose or verse.\* The ideal aim of one age may become the realized possession of an age following. Nor have we any objection to enthusiasm which knows itself, and knows the workday world. Without enthusiastic motive-power, no great moral or social enterprise was ever accomplished. But there is an Utopianism which counts its chickens before they

\* See a rather remarkable lyrical effusion, entitled 'Labour's Utopia,' at p. 460 of Mr. Thornton's volume 'On Labour'

are hatched, nay, cackles over chickens it expects to hatch from eggs that are addled. There is an enthusiasm which a writer before us, who yet avows himself an enthusiast, describes with great justice as follows :—

‘The besetting sin of enthusiasts, and notably of enthusiastic philanthropists, is a proneness to anticipate events, a desire to legislate as if mankind were already what it is barely conceivable that they may become, and to force upon them institutions to which they can only be fitted by long ages of training, instead of beginning by endeavouring to educate them into fitness for the institutions.’ \*

This is excellent sense, and we could only have wished that all the Utopianisms of the writer, as well as those of all his fellow-‘enthusiasts’ amongst contemporary economists, resembled the preceding extract in sobriety of sentiment and expression.

A former generation of political economists laid themselves more or less open to the charge of assigning to individual activity, exclusively occupied in the pursuit of wealth, the lion’s share in the entire economy of nations. Thence in part the reaction which in these days we witness. Thence, in quarters where one would least have been prepared to look for them, the tendencies in a socialistic direction which have been very perceptible in some of the most remarkable economical publications of late years.

The school of political economists at present in the ascendant seem to have an implicit faith in legislative omnipotence, whenever it thinks fit to exert itself, to remodel all industrial and social relations in the supposed interest of the labouring classes. If Mr. Mill, the recognized leader of that school, is to be designated as an economical ‘enthusiast’—or perhaps more properly as the founder and propagator of economic enthusiasm amongst the junior apostles of the philanthropic agrarianism he preaches (Mr. Thornton will scarcely rank as a junior, but rather as a senior prophet of that creed)—he has earned that designation more by the excessive exercise of the dialectical than of the imaginative faculty, and does not so much body forth to himself the forms of things unknown, as suggest to his disciples revolutions, unrealised even in imagination, of all existing relations between classes and sexes—as *logically* admissible, and not to be set aside as practically chimerical without actual experiment. His enthusiasm is the speculative passion of starting ever fresh game in the wide field of abstract social possibilities—philosophically indifferent to all objections drawn from the actual conditions

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\* ‘On Labour,’ p. 121.

of men, women, or things in the concrete. Mr. Mill would be very capable, like Condorcet, of deriving from the doctrine of human perfectibility the inference that there was no demonstrable reason why the duration of human life might not be prolonged indefinitely by discoveries (hereafter to be made) in hygiene. And to all objections drawn from universal human experience of the growth and decay of vital power within a limited period, it would be quite in the character of his mind and temper to reply calmly that the life of man, like the genius of woman, had not hitherto been developed under such conditions as to draw out its capabilities to the full extent. Like Condorcet, too, while dealing perturbation all round him, Mr. Mill is imperturbable, and might be described as *he was*, as '*un mouton enragé—un volcan convert de neige.*'

There is a curious playing at cross-purposes between the recent economical champions of the claims of labour to rank as something else than labour, and receive as its reward something that shall not be called wages, and the practical assertors for their class, so far as combined in Trades' Unions, of the simpler claim of a maximum of wage for a minimum of work. The former (we borrow the words of Mr. Mill) 'cannot think that the working classes will be permanently contented with the condition of labouring for wages as their ultimate state. They may be willing to pass through the class of servants in their way to that of employers, but not to remain in it all their lives.' On the other hand, the whole action of the latter—the Trades' Unionists—tacitly assumes for all who enter their combinations (and rightly assumes in the great majority of cases) the position of life-long wage-receivers. If Unionism is an authentic expression of the views and wishes of the more stirring section of the working classes, it is an expression contradictory of the views and wishes which the school of political economists, headed by Mr. Mill, think those classes must entertain.

Never did a pair of poor correlative terms become the subject of such unreasoning or wrong-reasoning animosity as those of *Labour for Wages*. In the novel vocabulary of national and international labour-leagues, work for wages by manual labourers in the employ of capitalists is denounced as a badge of slavery, and political economists who swear by Mr. Mill are taking up the same strain in milder language. Whereas the only man who works *not* for wages, as M. Edmond About justly observes, is *the slave*.\* Labour for wages—for pay received as the equivalent of work done—as the same lively and acute

\* 'A, B, C du Travailleur,' p. 234. Paris, 1868.

writer says with perfect truth—is the general rule of service, public or private, in the whole social hierarchy; and the one class incited by some who should know better to revolt against that rule as a special injustice and indignity to itself is precisely the class whose simple manual service comes most distinctly under it.

If wage-receiving labour, according to the new doctrine, is the slave, wage-paying capital (according to the same doctrine) is the tyrant of the modern organization of industry. Here, again, that doctrine is precisely the reverse of truth. Everywhere, and at all times, capital is labour's most submissive 'help' or servant. Everywhere, and at all times, the advances of capital are at the service of the effective worker: and to give proof of possession of the qualities of the effective worker is to command the power of the purse. The tyranny of capital is only true in the sense that, by laws as old as the world, those must obey who have not qualities to command; those must be soldiers who are not fit to be officers in the army of industry. Mr. Mill has said that 'the labourers need only capital, not capitalists.\*' Like most smart sayings of the social-revolutionary sort, this is quite beside the mark. What labourers need, speaking generally, is neither capital nor capitalists, so much as the qualities which inspire confidence in capitalists, or even confidence in each other. Capital is always, at least as eagerly as labour, in quest of employment; and, so far from tyrannizing over labour, is always willing to serve it at the lowest living wages, if only coupled with security. It is that security which the ordinary manual labourer is unable to afford. He must look somewhere above him, not so much for capital as for guarantee and guidance. Somebody must be found, whom the capitalist, not himself employing his capital, can feel himself morally safe in trusting with funds to employ profitably in his stead. That somebody is not the hand-worker but the head-worker—the 'captain of industry' in the now well-worn Carlylian phrase. He it is who can alone afford a moral guarantee to the capitalist that the funds entrusted to him shall be employed with a discretion ensuring their replacement with a profit. And everywhere the man who can be trusted with capital is the man whom capital helps to wealth. Working men may organize trades-unions against him, abuse him as their tyrant, echo Mr. Mill's dictum that they want capital only, not capitalists; but work under him they must, if they would have their hand-labour facilitated in its processes, and forwarded to its markets, by the

\* 'Fortnightly Review,' June, 1869, p. 689.

aid of capital, machinery, and commercial knowledge and connection.

As to Mr. Mill's notion that the working classes generally are not likely to be permanently contented with the condition of labouring for wages as their ultimate state, it may be replied, firstly, that men and classes are seldom contented with any state in which they happen to find themselves; but, secondly, that what men or classes may be 'willing,' and what they may be able for, are apt to be two different things. Few people perhaps, at the outset of life, would be found exactly willing to accept what, nevertheless, proves to be their ultimate place in it.

No anticipated organization of the labour of the future can be more ungrounded on any induction from the past than that which imagines the main body of the employed as merely passing through the class of servants in their way to that of employers. These latter must always be the *élite* of their class in industrial and intellectual faculties. While there is a mass of manual labour to be done, those must continue to do it, whose economical circumstances or intellectual culture raise them least above their work. Certainly the lowest stratum in the social order should not be a *caste*; and when Mr. Mill talks of 'two hereditary classes, employers and employed,' he assumes the existence of that which does not exist in any free country—some impassable barrier of caste forbidding the ascent of superior minds to superior positions. But there always must remain a lowest social stratum naturally forming the manual labouring class, the reward of whose labour may as well be called wages as by any other name—the thing to be named requiring to be distinguished in degree, if not in nature, from the profits of capital, or the payment of managerial direction and superintendence.

We have said, in *degree* if not in *nature*, since, in truth, of no class in a free country can it be said with accuracy that it is a class exclusively devoted to labour, and destitute of capital. As the exertion of the comparatively rare faculties required for the superintendence of industrial establishments, and the conduct of commercial transactions, entitles capitalist employers (or employers whose credit commands the use of capital) to the title of labourers of the most elevated and the most indispensable order, so the fact of having made savings, or acquired skill, at more or less cost of training, entitles provident and skilled labourers to the designation of capitalists. It is one of the most weighty and serious accusations brought against Trades Unionism, that it is an actual, if not avowed part of its system, to



to prevent such men from earning or saving as much as they otherwise might do in comparison with the less skilled or provident, and, therefore, from rising to that position in the social scale due to their individual energies, were those energies left unshackled.

'It seems inaccurate,' says Sir William Erle, in his 'Memorandum on the Law Relating to Trades' Unions,' 'to contra-distinguish labourers or working men from capitalists or employers, as if they were separate classes; for both classes labour; and the labour of the brain for the employing class may be immeasurably more severe than the labour of the muscles of motion for the working class. The accumulated stores of the mental labour of past ages exceed in value all money capital, or past labour accumulated. These stores must be used by the employer in the degree required by his business; but muscular action may be supplied with very slight recourse to accumulated knowledge in many departments of labour.'

We are not amongst those who regard Trades' Unionism as a monstrous and portentous birth from its very origin. Nothing can be more natural in its first growth than union in some shape amongst men employed in one common occupation, and sensible of one common interest. And nothing could be more certain, in the modern progress of industry, to give concentrated force to that principle of union amongst the working population than the operative multitudes assembled in vast establishments at our great seats of industry. A mill or foundry, collecting work-people by the thousand within one enclosure, may be said to constitute a Trades' Union in itself,\* and all the artificial extension

\* On this point we are able to cite the testimony, unexceptionable to that purpose, of Mr. George Potter, who probably did not perceive the inference which the following words must at once suggest to the reader:--

*'Take the case of one master on one side, and a thousand men on the other: his position as proprietor, capitalist, and employer, gives him a power which, if not quite equal to the united power of his thousand men, is immensely too great for any one among the thousand to cope with single-handed; whereas, let the whole number combine in one demand for what they conceive to be justice then the odds are, and then the parties would be equally matched.'*—*Contemporary Review*, June, 1870, p. 409.

It is not very easy to understand what more can be wanted in the shape of effective representation of the feelings and interests of employed and employers than such an agency as has for some years been supplied by the Boards of Conciliation established in Nottingham, the Staffordshire Potteries and Wolverhampton, of the satisfactory working of which full evidence was given to the Trades' Union Commissioners by Mr. Mundella, M.P., Mr. Hollins, and Mr. Rupert Kettle. 'These Boards,' say the Commissioners in their Final Report, 'require no complicated machinery, no novel division of profits, no new mode of conducting business; they need no Act of Parliament, no legal powers or penalties. All that is needed is that certain representative employers and workmen should meet at regular stated times, and amicably discuss around a table the common interests of their common trade or business. There is not a trade or business in the United Kingdom in which this system might not be adopted; and we see no reason why, in every case, results should not follow

extension and elaborate officialism of the later Union organization, seeking to embrace whole trades, nay, to constitute national and even international federations, can add little or nothing to the power possessed already by the operative masses on the spot where employed, by the mere fact of their conscious indispensableness to keep profitably at work the capital engaged in large concerns, and sunk in buildings, machinery, and material. That there will always be union in their common interest amongst masses of workpeople we hold to be as certain as that no ambitiously extended organization of that union can give it a force which does not already belong to it in the nature of things. And it would really seem as if the great body of workpeople were of the same opinion. 'As yet,' says Mr. Thornton, 'there are very few trades in the United Kingdom in which more than 10 per cent. of the men employed are Unionists; there is but one, that of the plasterers, in which as many as half are. In counting up their future conquests they are decidedly reckoning without their hosts. Their progress hitherto has been due less to their own strength than to their opponents' weakness of purpose.'

Mr. Thornton, in his last publication '*On Labour*,' &c., which has attracted more attention from its dashing style of moral paradox and social prophecy than his '*Plea for Peasant Proprietors*' did, some score and odd years back, till Mr. Mill endorsed its most hazarded and amazing statements (of which more anon), somewhere likens himself to Saul sitting at the feet of Mill, his Gamaliel. In this last publication the modern Saul requites in a singular manner the flattering acceptance by his Gamaliel of his former agrarian lucubrations, by taking into his hands the task of showing up the baselessness of a theory on which Mr. Mill (with other economists) had founded his doctrine of wages, and his disbelief of the power of Trades' Unions to effect their artificial elevation. Now, Mr. Thornton has taken it into his head to turn champion of Trades' Unions—though on grounds upon which they certainly would not accept his championship. In assuming it, however,—with ulterior objects which we shall presently see—he had first of all to disarm Mr. Mill of his Wage-fund theory. Very opportunely he found that theory already demolished, and had only to appropriate a demonstration already done to his hand.

We think we hear the unsophisticated reader exclaim, 'What

follow from the establishment of Boards of Conciliation, as satisfactory as those at Nottingham and in the Potteries to which we have before referred. Under such a system we should look hopefully for a peaceful, prosperous future for the industry of this country.'

on earth is a *Wage-fund* theory?' Let the unsophisticated reader rejoice with us: a *Wage-fund* theory is a thing—or unthing (to borrow a German idiom)—which is henceforth shunted fairly out of the way of future discussion of all questions affecting labour and labour's wages.

Mr. Longe, the barrister, in a pamphlet published four or five years back, which, at the time of its appearance, received less notice than it deserved—none at all at the hands of the political economists, one of whose fundamental doctrines it refuted—has the merit of having first methodically exposed the so-called *Wage-fund* theory. Mr. Thornton, in the first edition of his above-cited work '*On Labour*,' adopted without acknowledgment Mr. Longe's previously published refutation of that theory, using that refutation as the basis of his own apology for 'Trades' Unions. And Mr. Mill, in two review-articles from his pen\* on Mr. Thornton's first edition, accepted with a good grace his second-hand refutation of that theory, but equally ignored its source. There seems a sort of Japanese etiquette in the matter. It is only to his own hand, aided by that of a selected and sympathizing friend, the illustrious convict can consent to owe his 'happy despatch.'†

In

\* 'Fortnightly Review,' May and June, 1869.

† If we decline to stand by simply assisting as spectators of that Japanese etiquette, it is because we consider Mr. Longe's refutation of the '*Wage-fund* theory' as having exploded, together with that theory, much more of the economical doctrines previously inculcated as orthodox than the most authoritative teacher of those doctrines, Mr. Mill, even now has seen fit to acknowledge. But, in mercy to the general reader, we place the following details of that exploded theory at the foot of our pages, instead of inserting them in the text.

The theory, now exploded, once looked fairly in the face, is absurd in a degree to which nothing could have so long blinded its promulgators but the habit of reliance on abstract reasoning unverified by recurrence to facts. We extract, as follows, Mr. Mill's own enunciation of that theory made in the act of renouncing it:—

'There is supposed to be, at any given instant, a sum of wealth, which is unconditionally devoted to the payment of wages of labour. The sum is not regarded as matterable, for it is augmented by saving, and increases with the progress of wealth, but it is reasoned upon as at any given moment a predetermined amount. More than that amount it is assumed that the wages-receiving class cannot possibly divide among them; that amount, and no less, they cannot but obtain. So that, the sum to be divided being fixed, the wages of each depend solely on the divisor, the number of participants.'

That is—we quote the words of Mr. Longe—

'We are to regard *capital* as wealth which has been destined by its owners to the definite object of carrying on production by the employment of labourers in their own country, just as money subscribed to some charity is destined for the objects of such charity. It may have to lie idle for weeks, months, or years, while mercantile or foreign undertakings offer their 10 per cent. profits for its use. Its uses are never to change their minds. It can never be directed from its original object. It cannot be spent unproductively. It cannot be lost, either to its owner, or to the country, or to the labourers, for the purchase of whose labour it has been destined, while its owners were as yet ignorant in what trade, in what production, it should be actually employed.'

This 'aggregate capital,' predestined exclusively and irreversibly to the function of *wage-fund*, will, it was assumed, with equally predestined certainty, be distributed to the last farthing, by the process of competition, among the different classes of labourers making up the collective entity of the 'general labourer.'

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In the preceding foot-note the reader will find in brief compass the substantial refutation of the so-called Wage-fund theory,—a theory which formed the foundation, down to the date of Mr. Mill's imperfect palinode, of the orthodox economic creed on the whole subject of wages of labour. Had any rash champion of plain good sense ventured at an earlier period to question the solidity of that foundation, he would doubtless have been consigned to the *limbus infantum* of immature inquirers, cut off ere they had well crossed the threshold of economic existence, or even perhaps stigmatized by Mr. Fawcett with the epithet of 'practical man' or 'man of business.\*' The modern economist has never thought he could get far enough from the old-fashioned practical man. It must be owned the latter personage was too apt to confound inference with fact, and to claim for illegitimately drawn conclusions from observation and experience the credit due to these latter only. One important advantage, however, the despised practical man has always had over the man of closet-science and 'paper logic.' The former has always had *some* basis of fact, the latter has often had none. We do not hesitate to say that for every error or fallacy which 'scientific' economists have superciliously laid to the account of 'practical men,' we should be able to charge to those same economists another error or fallacy, destitute of any even seeming foundation in fact or experience, and which practical knowledge of the subject-matter of their subtle reasonings would have enabled them to avoid. The editor of the new Oxford edition of the 'Wealth of Nations,' Mr. Thorold Rogers, justly observes in his preface that, 'to be scientific, political economy must be constantly inductive. Half, and more than half, of the fallacies into which persons who have handled the subject have fallen, are the direct outcome of purely abstract speculation.'

This is the crowning absurdity of a theory absurd at all points. Mr. Lounge asks—

'How could the shoemakers compete with the tailors, or the blacksmiths with the glass-blowers? Or how should the capital which a master shoemaker saved, by reducing the wages of his journeymen, get into the hands of the master-tailor? Or why should the money, which a reduction in the price of clothes enables the private consumer to spend, in other things, go to pay or refund the wages of any other class of labourers belonging to his own country? It would clearly be just as likely to be spent in the purchase of foreign wine or in a trip to Switzerland.

'The notion of all the labourers of a country constituting a body of *general labourers* capable of competing with each other, and whose "general" or "average" wage depends upon the ratio between their number and the "aggregate" wage-fund, is just as absurd as the notion of all the different goods existing in a country at any given time, *e.g.* the ships, and the steam-engines, and the cloth, &c., constituting a stock of general commodities, the "general" or "average" price of which is determined by the ratio between the supposed quantity of the whole aggregate stock and the total purchase-fund of the community.'

\* 'The business man,' says Mr. Fawcett, 'assuming a confidence which ignorance alone can give, contemptuously sneers at political economy, and assumes that he is in possession of a superior wisdom which enables him to grapple with all the practical affairs of life, unhampered by theories and unfettered by principles.'—'The Economic Position of the British Labourer,' p. 1.

In no exercise of human intellect, indeed, is it more indispensable that the athlete, from time to time, Anteus-like, should touch earth.

A logical deduction—a deduction expressly drawn by Mr. Mill, in which also he was implicitly followed by Mr. Fawcett—from this henceforth exploded wage-fund figment of a certain predetermined portion of national wealth—exclusively to be distinguished by the title of capital—and constituting a fund inalienably predestined by capitalists to the employment of labour (apparently for labour's own sake) is that this *wage-fund* constitutes the sole effective demand for labour, and that—as Mr. Mill has expressly affirmed—*demand for commodities is not a demand for labour.*

As Mr. Longe was the first demolisher of the doctrinal foundation for this prodigious paradox, so he was the first to contrast with the real course of facts in this workday world the paradoxical superstructure reared, as we have seen, on that foundation. We extract as follows the main points of his answer to Mr. Mill's proposition that *demand for commodities is not demand for labour*, referring our readers to his pamphlet for detailed illustrations drawn from the actual system on which the different industrial trades of this country are commonly conducted:—

‘The demand for commodities *which could be got without labour* would certainly be no demand for labour; but the demand for commodities which can only be got by labour is as much a demand for labour as a demand for beef is a demand for bullocks. Assuming the goods for which there is a demand to have been already produced, the demand for such specific goods would certainly not be a demand for labour; but if such specific goods would not satisfy the demand, the demand for such kind of goods would be a demand for the labour required to increase the supply. It is not “labour” that the employer buys but the labourers’ “work” (*opus* as distinguished from *labor*); and it is the self-same thing that the consumer wants, and the purchaser of commodities buys, whether it is embodied in the materials which the capitalist supplies or not, and whether he buys it directly of the labourer himself, as in the case of the independent workman or working tradesman, or whether he buys it of a master-manufacturer, merchant, or retail dealer, at a price which includes, together with the labourers’ wages, the profits which those intervening dealers require as remunerative for their trouble, and interest on their capital, which has been advanced either in the purchase of materials, or in the payment of wages or, in the case of the merchant and retail dealer, in the purchase of the finished goods for resale. In the case of the large manufacturing trades, the wages of the workmen employed in producing goods might be, and, probably are, often paid, at least partly, out of the funds supplied by the merchants who purchase the goods which they have made. The funds supplied by the merchant and the

the manufacturer are certainly *capital*, according to the common meaning and use of that term; but they clearly form no part of that "capital" in which, according to Mr. Mill's theory, the "wage-fund" of the labourers consists, for they are not employed in the *maintenance of labour*, but in the *purchase of its products*. Whatever may be the use of the merchant's capital to the manufacturer and labourer, it is clear that neither he nor his capital come within Mr. Mill's theory of the causes which determine the wages of productive labour.'

It would be interesting to know whether, having unconditionally surrendered the 'Wage-fund theory,' Mr. Mill elects to surrender or adhere to the above-cited deduction from that theory. The one, in our judgment, has been as thoroughly exposed as the other, and, indeed, the superstructure must logically fall with the foundation.

In the meanwhile a rising disciple and zealous champion of Mr. Mill\* has endeavoured to effect a diversion in his master's favour by charging Mr. Longe, whom he curtly designates as 'an assailant of Mr. Mill's theory of wages,' with having fallen into the fallacy that '*all the funds expended upon commodities of whatever kind are expended on labour.*' If Mr. Longe had fallen into that fallacy, he would simply have furnished a pendant to the fallacy he exposed—viz., Mr. Mill's fallacy that demand for commodities was *no* demand for labour. The one fallacy would have been neither less nor greater than the other. But Mr. Longe, as our foregoing extracts have sufficiently shown, expressly guarded his position of demand for commodities being equivalent to demand for labour by the proviso that such commodities should be obtainable only by setting labour at work. And he further guarded himself by anticipation against any such construction as that fastened on him by Mr. Leslie—of having asserted that '*all the funds expended on commodities are expended on labour*'—by stating expressly that the price paid for such commodities must include, together with the labourers' wages, the profits of the intervening dealers between labourer and consumer. To what purpose then of convicting Mr. Longe of a counter-fallacy (which might keep in countenance the prodigious paradox he exposed) does Mr. Leslie cite the case of the cabinet-makers of Fleet London, whom, as he alleges, the furniture-dealers screw down to iniquitously low wages? Suppose they do—how does that impugn the position that demand for chairs is demand for the labour by which chairs are made? How does it palliate the paradox that demand for those chairs is *no* demand for that labour?

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\* 'Land Systems of Ireland, England, &c.' By T. F. Cliffe Leslie. Appendix.

In all fields of human study and speculation one extreme is apt to provoke its opposite. It was a currently-received doctrine, within living memory, that the spending class, the more lavish their expenditure, were the more pre-eminently the benefactors of national industry. In eschewing this error, the reigning school of economists have embraced an opposite one of at least equal grossness. From the old fallacy, that the *fruges consumere nati* were the most effective encouragers of native industry, they have rushed to the new fallacy, that a class of wealthy consumers are no encouragers of native industry at all. That Irish absentees, for example, may expend the rents they draw from poor Ireland entirely in foreign countries, without making Ireland any the poorer, was an economical paradox, started by the late Mr. M'Culloch, and adopted by Mr. Mill and his school, who have otherwise no particular respect for Mr. M'Culloch's doctrines. In combating that paradox, the late Lord Rosse, in his pamphlet on Ireland,\* carefully guarded himself against 'being supposed to place productive and unproductive expenditure on the same footing. The former has a tendency to increase the wealth of the country, the latter to keep things as they are; but, even in the latter case, as many who are engaged in providing the objects of unproductive expenditure make fortunes, the wealth of the country is somewhat increased.' The same late noble author says, in another place, with perfect truth, 'The common expression that landlords *consume* a definite proportion of the produce of their estates conveys a very erroneous idea. What a landlord *consumes*, be his estate large or small, is very much what other men consume. The word should be *distribute*.'

That the distribution of wealth secured by the presence of the propertied classes in a country in no manner benefits the producing classes in that country is a proposition, whether advanced in the concrete or the abstract, simply insulting to common-sense. It follows as a consequence, however, and an accepted consequence, from the doctrine propounded, as we said, by Mr. Mill, and echoed unhesitatingly by Mr. Fawcett, that *demand for commodities is no demand for labour*. We repeat, it would be interesting to know whether Mr. Mill is now content to let that doctrine fall with its previously-supposed 'scientific' foundation, or thinks it still susceptible of—and still worth—some other logical underpinning. It is hard to the logical mind to let go a long-cherished paradox. 'In pure mathematics,' said Lord Rosse, in the pamphlet above cited, 'in solving a problem, it is

\* 'A Few Words on the Relation of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, and in other parts of the United Kingdom.' By the Earl of Rosse. London, 1867.

useful to consider whether the result is probable. In applied mathematics, it is still more necessary to appeal to common-sense. How much more necessary is it in political economy, where the reasoning is often loose and obscure! A learned philosopher, willing to determine trigonometrically the height of Nelson's Pillar, having obtained the necessary data with a tape and sextant, worked out the problem, and found that the top of the Pillar was ten feet below the surface of the ground. He was a wise man, and not resting satisfied with the result, he returned to his figures and found them wrong.'

When Mr. Fawcett implicitly follows Mr. Mill's leading through labyrinths of abstraction, where there is no footing of solid fact, he frequently does a service to economical science, which we are far from undervaluing, by setting himself, in good faith, to illustrate by individual cases Mr. Mill's abstract positions,—a process by which the best possible *reductio ad absurdum* of those positions is supplied (that is to say, of course, when the positions themselves happen to be absurd). Apparently unconscious of the exposure by Mr. Longe, some four or five years back, of the fallacy of Mr. Mill's position that *demand for commodities is not demand for labour*, Mr. Fawcett, in the last edition of his 'Manual of Political Economy' [1869], persists in illustrating it by putting individual cases which complete that exposure. He supposes the case of a person who has a certain amount of property to dispose of in the form of some useful commodity—say corn. He sells a portion of this—say fifty pounds' worth—with which he purchases some useless luxury (by the way, a very unphilosophical way of writing, as all use is relative), say superfine cloth for his own dress, or Brussels lace for his wife's. 'If,' writes Mr. Fawcett, 'it is correct that a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour, then the purchaser of this lace ultimately does no more good to the labourers than would be done if the individual wantonly destroyed the property which has been sold in order to purchase the lace. *The capital of the country, and therefore the fund which is distributed amongst the labourers, is not in any way diminished if an individual should wantonly destroy so much wealth, instead of consuming it unproductively for his own gratification.*'

At the risk of incurring the appellation of 'practical man,' or even 'man of business,' we will affirm that 'the capital of the country'—'the fund available for distribution amongst the labourers'—must manifestly suffer more detriment if the owner of the aforesaid 50*l.* makes 'ducks and drakes' of them—throws them, for instance, into the sea in pure wantonness—than if he 'unproductively' buys with them superfine cloth for his own



dress or lace for his wife's. Is it possible that the most Mill-guided writer or reader can fail to see that *the coin of the realm*, when the supposed property takes that shape for purchases, is as much a part of the wealth of the realm as any other commodity, and that it is not destroyed, when paid to clothmakers or lacemakers, as when thrown in the sea? On the former supposition, an exchangeable value to the amount of 50*l.* is simply annihilated, and the wealth which might have employed labour diminished to that extent. On the latter supposition, the 50*l.* has been saved to 'the fund available for distribution amongst the labourers,' and has actually been so distributed amongst them, unless clothmakers and lacemakers are to be struck off the list of labourers. The cloth and lace may, indeed, be said to be consumed unproductively, as any other article may be said to be so consumed which cannot be classed among necessities of life or implements of labour. But the price paid for them has gone to demand and employ labour, and there is nothing to prevent some of it being saved by those who receive it, and employed as capital in aid of further produc-

country had it been thrown in the sea! Are we not justified in repeating that, when Mr. Mill propounds palpable absurdities, the final *reductio ad absurdum* is supplied by Mr. Fawcett?

Mr. Fawcett has the difficult task to reconcile the holding of 'extreme democratic opinions' (for such are the opinions he says he holds—and the very phrase implies a sense of their excessiveness) with the soberer views which liberal culture on general subjects has tended to produce in a mind very receptive of such culture. As Mr. Auberon Herbert professes speculative republicanism, tempered by personal loyalty, so Mr. Fawcett atones for the austere Malthusian censures of operative improvidence contained in his Cambridge Lectures by repudiation of royal dowries and hereditary legislature,—essential articles, we suppose, of the advanced Liberalism adapted to the meridian of democratic Brighton. We only wish the Cambridge Professor could permit himself to forget the Brighton member, and did not think it due either to his own 'extreme democratic opinions,' or to those of the 'fierce democratie' *super mare* he has to 'wield,' to drag into political economy lectures, at a learned University, crude sentences, without a syllable of argument to support them, against hereditary legislature and landed aristocracy, hitherto recognized integrants of our not yet overthrown monarchy. Whatever Mr. Fawcett's Brighton constituents may think, calm and instructed observers of recent and pending European events will be apt to think that our nearest Continental neighbours have  
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not been such clear gainers by the violent uprooting, within the last eighty years, of all habitually respected hereditary powers, and all politically-organized independent landed influences, as to suggest the like root-and-branch work here, as a social benefit so self-evident that it needs nothing more than naked enunciation for general recognition.

While the orthodox political economists adhered to their Wage-fund theory, they made use of it to maintain the doctrine (valid on other grounds) that neither employers nor workpeople can arbitrarily raise or lower the wages of labour. But the Trades' Unionists had *their* Wage-fund theory too, and founded on the same assumption of a permanent wage-fund, in the hands of capitalists, the conclusion that it was possible for that portion of the working people organized in Unions to cause the lion's share of that fund to come into their own hands, to the exclusion, as far as possible, of outsiders—that is to say, of the whole body of workpeople outside the Unions. All that can be said of the Unionist creed on this head is, that it is a shade less absurd than that which has just been abjured by the chief of the so-deemed orthodox economists. If there really exists, deposited in the hands of capitalists, a permanent predestined wage-fund, which can be spent no otherwise than in paying the wages of 'the general labourer' in these islands, the lion's share of that fund may doubtless be successfully scrambled for by those sections of that collective entity best organized for the scramble.

Where the Unionist reading of the Wage-fund theory has been put in most pernicious action has been in the systematic limitation, dictated by that reading of that theory, of the efficiency of labour, by the enforcement of all sorts of arbitrary restrictions by the Union authorities on the combined workmen, with the avowed object of securing that the work to be done shall be divided among as many (Unionist) hands as possible. The idea of *labour for wages*, like any other honest business transaction, being, in its nature, a fair exchange of *equivalent values*, would seem never to have been admitted or realized by the Unionist mind. Its idea of wages is rather that of the lion's share of a spoil, supposed to be accumulated, ready to be scrambled for, in the hands of capitalists, than of the labourer's fair share of the joint product obtained by the unfettered co-operation of capital and labour—a share which the competition amongst capitalists secures to labour, where labour is free and labourers provident—and more than which working men cannot permanently extort, strike they never so unwisely.

It is asked by Mr. Thornton how many instances exist of masters spontaneously raising wages. We would reply by another

question, how many instances exist of masters refusing to raise wages, when the prosperous state of trade makes masters competitors for working hands, rather than working hands for employment? This point is well handled as follows in a Criticism, by Mr. James Stirling, in the recently-published volume of 'Recess Studies,' on Mr. Mill's newly-espoused doctrine on 'Trades' Unions:—

'The striking effect upon the labourer's mind of a brisk or slack demand for labour—although a mystery to the closet student—is a familiar fact to every business man practically conversant with the hiring of labour. No intelligent foreman, who has stood at the gate of a public work engaging hands, has failed to note the different bearing of the workman in good times and in bad. When trade is dull the labourer deferentially comes up to his employer, whispering, with bated breath, his humble petition for employment. But let hands get scarce, and labour be in demand, and unconsciously he alters his tone and raises his demands. When railway bills are rife, and a demand springs up for strong arms to wield pick and shovel, then no man so independent as your isolated navvy. Feeling his importance, he offers himself to no one, but stands quietly in the market-place, sucking his pipe, and waiting to be coaxed; and it is only when the bewildered contractor yields his utmost demands, that he deigns to take off his coat, and handle his pick-axe. The secret of his power is not combination, but competition; not the union of helpless labourers, but the rivalry of powerful capitalists. All this the baffled contractor knows to his cost; and to tell him (as Mr. Mill tells him) that "nothing but a close combination" can give his imperious navvy "even a chance of successfully contending with his employers," must sound in his ears like a dismal mockery.'

Whatever exceptions may be taken to the apologetic style of Mr. Thornton, which is certainly peculiar, he is not chargeable with any disposition to throw a decent veil over those principles or practices, which have procured its present evil repute for 'Trades' Unionism in this country. While confessing for his clients all the violence of means and all the class-selfishness of ends they have ever been accused of, he nevertheless stands forward in their defence on the ground, common, as he affirms, to all classes, of 'that *universal selfishness*, which is, and always has been, the governing principle of all human institutions.' Masters and men, according to Mr. Thornton, fatally confront each other in something like Hobbes's misanthropically imagined state of nature, with nothing but force, or the fear of force in the background, to appeal to for arbitrament on any point of dispute, and no principle of justice recognized, as regulative of their relations, on one side or the other.

When Mr. Thornton says there is no particular rate of wages to

to which the labourer *has a right*, or by not obtaining which he can be *wronged*, and that 'no price can be proposed either *to him* or *by him* which can be one whit more fair or just than any other price,' we think he may fairly be called upon to define his terms. If he means by right, *legal* right, his proposition is a self-evident truism. Clearly the employer cannot be compelled by law to pay more than he contracted a legal obligation to pay in wages. But if Mr. Thornton means by right, *moral* right, his proposition becomes a shocking paradox. In a moral sense surely the labourer has a right—and what is more is pretty sure to be sensible of it—to be paid wages by his employer at a rate proportionate to the value of the products of his labour to the latter. As the employer knows his capital has a right to profits, so the labourer knows *his* capital (the skill his training and handicraft have acquired for him) has a right to profits also—*i. e.*, to be paid the just value of its contribution to the joint work of production. If, indeed, he has no skill and not much industry he may be content to be paid low wages for little work; or if his personal capital is a drug in one particular market, he will probably make up his mind to take it to some other—just as his employer, under the like circumstances, would probably make up his mind to transfer *his* capital from an over-stocked to an under-stocked field of production. But, in a free country, no working man will long content himself to do work for others which contributes to the profit of *their* capital, without producing a proportionate profit *to his*. If he cannot get his wages raised proportionately to his work, and cannot *get away* (an unlikely circumstance in this age of locomotion), he will not fail finally to lower his work proportionately to his wages.

'In the higher trades and professions,' says Mr. Longe, the employers 'can safely (so far as regards the interests of the labourers, at all events) leave the determination of wages to the labourers themselves. In the lower trades, however, and more especially in the case of agricultural labourers, it would be mere mockery of the necessities of the poor, as well as false economy, so far as regards the general interests of society, and of the employers themselves as a permanent class, to allow competition to determine the wages they should pay, whenever wages have been already reduced to such a rate as would at all involve the question of sufficiency. In such a case a true political economy would require the employer to study well the difference between cheap labour and low wages—a distinction which the false theory we have been considering entirely ignores.'

But a distinction which is ignored by no enlightened employer of labour! Lord Dudley's agent, Mr. Smith, who holds  
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a leading position in the iron trade, declared to the 'Trades' Union Commissioners that he would never consent to reduce puddlers' wages below 7s. 6d., and that he should prefer the present rate of 8s. 6d. to be the minimum. 'I do not wish,' he very justly remarks, 'ever to see a puddler working at a less rate of wages than he is at the present time, even though, unfortunately, the price of iron should have to be reduced; because the moment you bring a class of men like the puddlers, who are very hard-worked, below a certain rate of wages, that moment you rid the community of the best men.'

'I believe,' remarks an iron-moulder, 'that nothing but England's well-paid artisans maintained our position during the great struggle and crisis of revolutions on the Continent. And you will recollect further, that at the moment when the Chartist agitation was going on in the country, their cry was, "Only pull down the artisan class of the country to the level of the labourer, and the charter would have to be granted."'

In a remarkable speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 7th July, 1869, and subsequently republished in a pamphlet with additional statistical details, by Mr. Thomas Brassey, Junr., who, as our readers may be aware, has a hereditary title to practical experience of the conditions of labour in some of its most stirring skilled departments during the last twenty years, we find the same disinclination expressed by one versed in the profitable employment of labour to regard the mere figure of money wages as decisive of the cheapness or dearness to the employer of the labour for which those wages are paid. Mr. Brassey maintains unhesitatingly that, daily wages are no criterion of the actual cost of executing works or carrying out manufacturing operations. In the construction of the Paris and Rouen Railway, where some 4000 Englishmen were employed, 'though these English navvies earned 5s. a day, while the Frenchmen employed received only 2s. 6d., it was found, on comparing the cost of two adjacent cuttings in precisely similar circumstances, that the excavation was made at a lower cost per cubic yard by the English navvies than by the French labourers. On the Delhi and Umritsur Railway, it has been found, as I am informed by Mr. Henfrey, my father's resident partner in India, that, mile for mile, the cost of railway work is about the same in India as it is in England, although the wages, if estimated by the amount of daily pay, are marvellously low.'

Mr. Lothian Bell is cited by Mr. Brassey as having given in a recent address read at a meeting of ironmasters in the north of England, the result of his investigations as to the cost of smelting pig iron in France, which he said distinctly established the fact that

that more men were required to do an equivalent quantity of work in France than in England.

‘ Taking into account the saving in respect of fuel, the cost of producing pig-iron in France was twenty shillings, in some cases even thirty shillings, more than that exhibited by the cost-sheets of the manufacturers at Cleveland. So too, Mr. Howitt, an American iron-master, stated that the price of iron was one pound sterling per ton higher at Creuzot than in England. And M. Michel Chevallier, in his introduction to the Reports of the Jurors of the French Exhibition, says, that rails are from twenty-five to thirty francs dearer per ton in France than in England. To the same effect, Mr. Lothian Bell says that whereas labour in Westphalia costs from twenty to twenty-five per cent. less than with us, the labour-saving arrangements are much neglected ; and a ton of iron smelted in the Ruhrort district cannot be produced for less than fifteen shillings a ton above the cost upon the Tees. A similar difference is shown in the price of the rails recently purchased for the Mont Cenis Railway, the price of which at the works in France was from seven pounds twelve shillings to eight pounds per ton, while the price in England was seven pounds per ton. In proof of the conscious inability of the French iron-masters to compete with our manufacturers in an open market, I may mention that the import duty in France on rails is two pounds eight shillings per ton.’

The twin assumptions that there is no principle of justice applicable to any rate of wages which may be agreed to between employers and labourers, and no permanent interest influencing the employers of labour to respect any such principle, or regard any rule towards the employed but that of paying their labour at the lowest rate at which it can be constrained to sell itself, would certainly constitute, if they were but a little better established on facts, a moral apology more than adequate for any coercion the employed can put on the employers. On such assumptions there is room for no other than belligerent rights in the relations between employers and employed. The next task is to show that the belligerency of the Unions has on the whole been successful. And to show this another enormous assumption is called in aid—viz., that every rise of wages in the various branches of industry of late years has been directly or indirectly due to the action of Trades Unions.

Mr. Thornton indeed admits that every protracted strike of late years has been unsuccessful in its object. He admits further that every protracted strike *must be* unsuccessful, if only the masters hang together with the same tenacity as the men. Evidently therefore a strike, or the threat of a strike, on the part of the men can effect its object only in cases in which the masters  
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do not think it worth while to oppose lock-outs to strikes. Then the question arises—Can all the cumbrous and costly machinery of national, nay international, labour leagues—really be required to constrain masters to yield points to their men which the latter are resolute to obtain, and which the former are not resolute to refuse? Mr. Thornton himself, in one of those lucid intervals, the recurrence of which in his writings throws the suspicion of artistic artifice on the Rembrandt shadows of other passages in them, acknowledges that ‘*Masters are generally fond of peace and quietness. Their hearts are in their business pursuits; they are eager to be doing, and dislike proportionably to be checked in mid-career. They are in consequence so averse to industrial strife, and incur so much inconvenience and risk so much loss by engaging in it, that, great as have been their past concessions for tranquillity’s sake, they would not improbably concede a good deal yet, if they could believe that any concessions would suffice, or could see any end to the exactions continually practised on them.*’

Mr. Thornton asserts roundly that, ‘it is indeed notorious that in all trades whatsoever in which Unionism prevails, the Unions have of late years been able materially to raise wages.’ This involves, as we have observed, the assumption, that wherever wages have risen, they have been raised by Unionism. But, as a matter of fact, wages have not risen, of late years ‘in all trades whatsoever in which Unionism prevails.’ It is stated by Mr. Brassey, and the statement is confirmed by an unimpeachable Unionist authority, Mr. George Potter,\* that ‘between 1851 and 1861 no advance took place in the wages of the engineers, though theirs is the most powerful of the Trades’ Societies; but in the case of the boiler-makers wages rose from 26s. to 32s. 6d., in consequence of the extension of iron ship-building, and the great amount of iron bridge-work.’

Mr. Brassey cites the evidence of Mr. Moulton, the Secretary to the Master Builders’ Association of Birmingham, before the Trades’ Union Commissioners, that ‘of the 900,000 men employed in the building trades not more than 90,500 were members of the Trades’ Unions; and that while the Trades’ Unions professed to aim at securing uniformity of wage throughout the country, yet the wages of masons varied in different parts from 4½d. to 7½d. per hour, the wages of bricklayers from 4½d. to 8d., and those of carpenters from 4½d. to 8d. per hour. These figures conclusively prove the fallacy of the idea that Trades’ Unions can secure for their clients a uniform rate of wages,

\* ‘Contemporary Review,’ June, 1870, Art. 6, above cited.

irrespective of the local circumstances of the trades in which they are engaged.'

Who, indeed, can imagine that the rise of wages during the last twenty years in the building trades has been due to the stupid savagery of the Manchester Bricklayers' Union, or to Messrs. George Potter and Co's. periodically replenished windbags, and abortive though stubborn strikes in London? The reason why wages in the building trades had risen is sufficiently explained in the following answer of Mr. Trollope, the eminent London builder, to the 'Trades' Union Commissioners—'I am bound to say that hitherto there has been such an enormous pressure for work, that almost every man who can handle a tool has been taken on at an unreasonable rate.' 'Again,' says Mr. Brassey:—

'Speaking of the advance in wages in the building trades in the provinces, Mr. J. Mackay, an experienced agent in my father's employ, says in a report he has made to me on the subject—"Wages have risen during the last twenty years from 20 to 25 per cent.; but, by the force of circumstances, they would have risen as much or more if 'Trades' Unions had never existed." To the same effect, Mr. Robinson, the Managing Director of the Atlas Works, Manchester, in his evidence before the Commissioners, says "I do not think the Unions have altered the rate of wages; the changes are rather due to the demand for labour in particular branches."

'Statements,' says Mr. Brassey, 'have been widely circulated, and largely accepted by the public, to the effect that there has been a greater advance in the wages of operatives in recent years in England than in the corresponding period abroad; this increase being, it is alleged, entirely attributable to the powerful organization of the 'Trades' Unions. Whereas on the contrary, "the advances which have occurred in the rate of wages abroad prove that, without the introduction of Trades' Unions, and solely in consequence of a greater demand for skilled labour, through the development of manufacturing industry on the Continent, the wages of the working classes have risen more rapidly than in any industry in this country."

Mr. Brassey cites in support of his statements on this head the official correspondence with Her Majesty's missions abroad which had been published before the date of his speech. We find these statements further corroborated by the subsequent publication of the 'Reports from Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Agents respecting the condition of the Industrial Classes in Foreign Countries.' Mr. Phipps reports to Lord Clarendon, on the position of the artizan and industrial classes in Würtemberg, that 'the average increase in the rate of wages in eight branches of industry during the last thirty years amounts to from 60 to 70 per cent.' In the building trade in particular,



particular, 'in the case of masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and painters, may be observed a remarkable rise in the rate of wages of 80 or 90 per cent., to be accounted for simply by the unusual activity in the building trade during the last twelve years, especially in the capital. The wages of a mason or bricklayer are, at present, 3s. to 3s. 4d., and first-class workmen receive even more.' Würtemberg has hitherto rejoiced in combination laws as rigorous as any that ever existed in England, and has not yet learned to rejoice in the equally rigorous code of Unionism for its opposite objects. Yet these objects seemed gained more effectually in Würtemberg without Unions than in England with them, in those trades in which the extraordinary rise of wages in late years has been set down unhesitatingly to the artificial operation of Unionism.

The pessimism of Mr. Thornton's representations of the sheer unmitigated selfishness of all actual and all possible relations between labour and its employers—so long as *labour* shall continue simply to be paid *wages*—is made with artistic contrast to lead up to the optimism of his fancy pictures—which blossom at length into rhyme—of Labour's Utopia in the future, when labour shall be conducted (and land also, it would seem, cultivated) under conditions of purely co-operative association—'destined' in time 'to beget, at however remote a date,' something 'superior to itself'—and that something 'a healthy socialism.' But he adds (and here, at least, we agree with him) that 'for the forthcoming of such offspring it is indispensable that there be no violent shortening of the natural period of gestation.' The natural period of gestation of a healthy socialism must be protracted indeed! In the meantime the whole course of modern civilization seems running in the direction of giving ample room and verge enough for the pioneer operations of a healthy individualism. The cabin and rifle of the latest emigrant to the backwoods are human nature's protest against all artificial socialisation.

Mr. Thornton would be content to rest for awhile, and be thankful, at the half-way house to his industrial Utopia of pure co-operative association (which, as we have seen, is itself only to be regarded as a half-way house to the millennial beatitude of a healthy socialism), which he considers as provided for our present poor and purblind workday world by 'industrial partnerships' between employers and workpeople.

With reference to the various modifications of this system, the Trades' Union Commissioners, in their eleventh and final Report, have expressed themselves with a wise reserve on the shape assumed, in some few instances with success, in France and in  
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this country, of remuneration for extra exertions of the work-people employed in large concerns by bonuses calculated on the increased profits of those concerns supposed due to such extra exertions. It is evidently only in cases where that supposition is consistent with facts that, on the principle for which we have contended of *sum cuique*, the workman is entitled to recognition in proportion to the extra profits which, by the hypothesis, are due to the extra investment of what may be termed personal capital, manual or mental, in the shape of supererogatory zeal and diligence on his part over and above the ordinary day's tale of work which could be demanded of, or enforced on, him by his employers.

Somewhat too much has been made by sensation-economists, and effect-writers generally, of the few instances (they might be counted on the fingers of one hand) of advantageous results from awarding to workpeople, in addition to their wages, some stated proportion of the annual profits of the concerns they work for. The only real principle of universal application is that every one should be paid his due,—wages to whom wages are due, profits to whom profits. Work-people can have no right to additional pay (though 'Trades' Unions have often claimed it for them) on account of additional efficiency given to their labour by improved machinery, set up and paid for by their employers. They can have no claim to share the profits of capital which they have not invested, or the remuneration due to the ability and experience of the directing heads of concerns. In a word, what workpeople have alone a right to is *the value of their contribution to products*. In establishments, whether such as M. Leclaire's at Paris, or Messrs. Briggs' at Methley, where the economy and efficiency of the conduct of the concern in great measure depend on the unsuperintended voluntary zeal and diligence of the individual workmen, the recognition of extraordinary profits as due to extraordinary exertions is at once just and politic. But there is a manifest incongruity, and a certain source of future misunderstandings as grave as any that arise at present between employers and workpeople, in the conception of the universal adjustment of the rewards of work-people to the commercial success of establishments, into the operations of which the element of manual labour enters in degrees so different.

What has been most conspicuous in France has been the failure, in a great majority of instances, of purely operative associations for productive purposes; and the main cause of failure has been pointed out, as we conceive, correctly, by Mr. Fane, in a despatch to Lord Stanley, dated March, 1867. 'It has been a great

great mistake,' he says, 'in the procedure of the working-classes in France that they have preferred societies of production to building societies, loan societies, and those which may be termed societies of consumption. The latter should come first; for their tendency is to endow the workman both with the capital and the prudence, without which his participation in the productive form of society is seldom satisfactory.'

While the large majority of the operative associations, which came up like mushrooms in the revolution year 1848, have failed to maintain their ground, those which survive and flourish in general owe their vitality and vigour to original independence of State aid, and adherence to the plain principles, which, under any form of industrial association, are essential to success. Of these principles none is more vital than that which rigidly and unswervingly attributes *sum cuique*; and the most successful operative association in Paris is that which has most stontly asserted it.

And here we have a crow to pick with Mr. Thornton. At page 428 of his volume on 'Labour' he roundly denounces the Rochdale Co-operative Manufacturing Society (an off-shoot from the far-famed Rochdale Equitable Pioneers) as 'the *Iscariot of the tribe*' of co-operation,—'one that bade fair to be their glory, but has become their shame.' And why? Simply because this manufacturing association divides its *profits* only amongst its *shareholders*, and remunerates the workpeople it employs with *wages* for work done. Now, Mr. Thornton, two pages previously, had described the Paris masons as 'the most considerable of all the French societies,' and all its doings with complacency,—including the 'frock coats' (by the way, an incorrect translation of *frac*, which means a dress-coat) that the shareholders of that society wear on Sundays (just as if their black coats distinguished them from the Sunday dress of our skilled artisans here). But what Mr. Thornton omits to state is that the Paris association which he glorifies adopts precisely the principle of the Rochdale association which he denounces—the principle of dividing *profits* only amongst shareholders, and of remunerating the workmen they employ by *wages*. We humbly submit that neither Rochdale nor Paris working societies should have a Judas-stigma fixed on them merely because they carry out that principle in their practical working. We shall have the revered Leclaire himself next stigmatized as the *Iscariot* of industrial partnership, because in his establishment also the 'associates' alone share profits—the large majority of *employés*, termed 'auxiliaries,' receiving wages only. Mr. Fawcett is too urbane a writer to stigmatize as '*Iscariots*' those co-operative associations in this country which call capital from without in aid of the contribu-  
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tions of their working shareholders,—nay worse, *pay wages* to their non-associated workpeople. But, on the other hand, while Mr. Thornton quietly ignores the fact that those foreign associations, which he himself cites as most exemplary for skilful and successful management, are precisely those which have taken the same course on the largest scale, Mr. Fawcett sets fact at direct defiance in his statement of their proceedings. Of course, we do not suppose for a moment that his mis-statements are of his own invention. But we cannot acquit him of ‘crass negligence’ in failing to acquire more accurate information of the true state of facts which inconveniently oppose his theories.

‘It ought to be stated,’ says Mr. Fawcett, ‘that the co-operative masons in Paris *never employed any labourers but those who were shareholders*; the advantage of adopting this rule is very apparent, and unfortunately English Societies have not adopted a similar regulation.’

We beg to state that it is not the English that is here at variance with the French practice; but Mr. Fawcett’s statement respecting the latter that is at variance with facts.

The co-operative society of Paris masons consisted of eighty shareholders (alas! can we speak of any Paris society in the present tense?). That society was so far from cutting all connection with ‘the tyrant capital’ outside its pale (as Messrs. Thornton and Fawcett think essential to purity of principle in all co-operative societies), that it set out by raising a capital of 300,000 francs, and as the associated workers could not subscribe such a capital amongst themselves, they had recourse to *bourgeois* capital seeking commercial investment (one wonders what rational principle was against their doing so). Their able manager, M. Cohadon, has made the following public statement of their proceedings:—

‘In this prosperous association capital exercises its function side by side with labour. In the division of profits 60 per cent. is assigned to labour, 40 per cent. to capital. The working shareholders receive a fixed salary, regulated by the quantity and quality of their work [wages, in short, for piecework] they then share the profits—*just as they would have to share the losses in case of ill success.*’

‘This co-operative society,’ says M. About, in his chapter on ‘Co-operation,’ ‘employs hundreds of workpeople, and pays them fixed rates of wages, which are paid definitively, and nowise as first instalments on account. Nothing can be more contradictory to the pure theoretic principle of co-operation.’ But hear Mr. Cohadon, who takes a practical view of the subject (Mr. Fawcett’s *bête noire*—a practical man, and a man of business):—

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'The reason,' says M. Cohadon, 'why it is impossible not to employ *auxiliaries*, is that you cannot turn back large orders—if you do, you lose your customers. In theory an association should employ its members only: in practice this is impossible. It is equally impossible to award to auxiliaries a share of profits. In the first place, how can you always be sure to *make* profits? And if there are losses, how can the auxiliaries be expected to take their share of these? It is inadmissible in principle that those who take no share in losses should take shares in profits.'

'If workpeople themselves,' says M. About, 'the moment they have to handle capital, adopt the received principles of social economy, it is because those principles are *true*.' No stricter enforcers of orthodox economical principles than associated workpeople, when their visual orbs are purged with the euphrasy and rue of self interest in enforcing them! M. Blaise, another practical man of the manufacturing region of the Vosges observes on this point:—

'In the legal point of view, the rules which govern co-operative productive associations are identical with those which govern other employers of labour; in a moral point of view, they proceed pretty much in the same manner. Like those, they employ wage-paid workpeople under the name of *auxiliaries*; they pay them no more than others do, and no more guarantee them permanent employment. Nay, the workpeople complain of being more hardly dealt with by operative associations than by other employers. These societies, when their members possess those rare qualities, commercial, technical, and governmental, which secure success, are doubtless profitable to those who form them, or are admitted into them; but they constitute an addition to the previous body of employers; and even if their numbers multiplied to the utmost supposable extent, as they never can comprise more than a comparatively small fraction of the labouring class, they do not appear destined to exercise any considerable influence on the economic condition of the masses.'

If the contemplated industrial Utopia of the economical school at present in the ascendant might be comprised in the formula of 'every operative his own capitalist,' their contemplated agricultural Utopia might be formulated in like manner as 'every labourer his own landlord.' Now that something may be done in the way of approximation to both these Utopias—that shares may be allotted to the savings of operatives in industrial establishments, and allowance made in extra pay for their extra exertions beyond the exigible day's tale of labour—that the agricultural labourer ought to be restored to the contact he has too generally in this country lost with the soil he cultivates, and supplied with a plot of ground sufficient to occupy his hours of leisure, and supplement his wages of labour at slack seasons—  
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none will deny who have duly noted the effects of what has been already done in these directions. By all means encourage the upward struggles of industry, exceeding in its efforts and energies the mere day-labour sufficiently remunerated by day-wages. But don't imagine that you can elevate all labourers into proprietors, whether of commercial or manufacturing establishments or landed estates. Don't imagine that if you can cut all Ireland up into cottier-crofts to-morrow (since merely to convert her half million tenant-farmers, according to Mr. Mill's recipe, into (mis-called) peasant-proprietors would be discovered the day after to be a measure not half revolutionary enough in the interest of the outlying majority of non-tenant labourers), you could *ipso facto* invest Irishmen with the indefatigable industry and skill for small culture transmitted from age to age among the Lilliputian landowners and still more Lilliputian tenant-farmers of East Flanders. It may further be affirmed that such enthusiastic English and Irish champions of peasant-proprietorship as Mr. Mill, Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Cliffe Leslie, have greatly exaggerated the agricultural regimen of Belgium as the paradise of peasant-proprietors. Their chief authority, M. de Laveleye, in his treatise on Belgium in the Cobden Club volume, by no means recommends the land system of Flanders to foreign imitation. On the contrary, he says expressly, the system of tenure of land in Flanders (the pet province of our exclusive enthusiasts of peasant-proprietorship) is anything but worthy of imitation. There are too many tenant-farmers, and too few peasant-proprietors; the leases are excessively short, and the rents exceedingly high.

Just the state of things Lord Dufferin had predicted that Mr. Mill's project for investing Irish tenantry with proprietary rights and powers over their present holdings infallibly would produce in Ireland:—

'It is probable,' says Lord Dufferin, 'that within a very brief period of the new land settlement a considerable proportion of the original occupiers will have found it convenient to *devolve their interest on others*, under the conditions proposed by Mr. Mill. The community will then be divided into two important classes—*peasant-landlords and peasant-tenants*.

'In what respect would the then condition of affairs be an improvement on the present? You would not have got rid of "landlordism;" you would only have substituted an innumerable crowd of needy landlords for the present more affluent proprietors. Evictions for non-payment of rent would be as rife as ever, for the necessities of those to whom the rent was due would preclude them from exercising the indulgence now extended to their tenants by the present proprietors; while dispossession for other causes, such as waste, extravagance,

gance, and bad management, would be multiplied in excess of the small proportion of those which are now effected in Ireland on such accounts.'

English and Irish landlords,' says M. de Laveleye, 'do not put on the screw of a continual increase of rent with anything like the harshness habitual with Belgian landowners. . . . The peasants of Flanders unfortunately will not leave their own province, and their intense competition for farms raises the rents in a manner ruinous to themselves. . . . In consequence of excessive competition, the Flemish farmer is much more ground down by his landlord than the Irish tenant.'

There certainly was a curious felicity in the selection of Belgium by Messrs. Mill, Thornton, and Leslie, as exhibiting in the excellence of its culture and the wellbeing of its cultivators a Labour Utopia, to which legislation should seek to assimilate England and Ireland. Not one of the conditions which they affirm to be indispensable to good cultivation and the good condition of the cultivators can be affirmed with truth to prevail generally in Belgium; every one of the characters of absolute proprietorship, facilities for summary eviction, and agrarian outrage (only that in Belgium agrarian outrage is suppressed, instead of being made political capital of), which they denounce as evidences of landlord law in Ireland, are equally to be found in Belgium. We find it stated in the Reports from our Ministers abroad, compiled from official documents, that in East and West Flanders, the provinces specially selected by our peasant-proprietary-fanciers, as exemplifying the agrarian regimen they would introduce at home, 'the land is almost entirely worked by tenants,' whereas in Luxemburg, where much of the land is poor and of but comparatively little value, it is mostly cultivated by proprietors. Taking the whole of the little kingdom, not half the land is retained in the hands of its proprietors, and it is further stated that 'the bulk of the land in the hands of owners consists of wood, wastes, &c.' Those parts of Belgium specially selected as illustrating by their skilled and careful cultivation the 'magic of property' triumphing over all disadvantages of soil and climate, are precisely those parts which are neither owned by their cultivators, nor held on a tenure described as absolutely indispensable 'to encourage culture by its security. The 'peasant-proprietor is unknown in the Pays de Waes,' and very whimsical are the varieties of 'the truck system' inflicted on the farmers in that favoured district, where 'written leases do not exist,' and where one farmer very generally holds of several landlords, who are for the most part tradesmen in the neighbouring towns:—

'The small as well as the large farmer is liable to have as landlords,  
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at one and the same time, a brewer, a grocer, a haberdasher, a manufacturer, a clockmaker, a publichouse keeper, a farmer, a doctor, a lawyer, a parish-priest (rarely owner of land), a Liberal, a Catholic. The brewer expects him to drink his beer—if he objects, he evicts him from the plot of land he holds of him, and lets it to a more profitable tenant: the grocer expects him to buy his coffee at his shop; his wife and daughters must dress well in order to please the haberdasher; he must purchase a watch and change it occasionally to please the watchmaker; he must assist his farmer-landlord in getting in his crops before he attends to his own; if he or his family do not require the doctor's attendance two or three times a year, the doctor seeks for a less healthy tenant.'

'About two-thirds of the arable lands of Belgium,' says Consul Grattan, 'are cultivated by tenants.' A former Belgian Minister stated some years back, in a Report on the subject, that 'it is in the poorer and more thinly inhabited districts that proprietors are the most apt to cultivate their own land,' and that 'in populous districts proprietors farming their own lands become comparatively rare.'

If, in most parts of Belgium, 'farming is carried on upon traditional principles,' and has become a sort of unimproving routine, the petty farmer has become an equally unimproving and equally rooted human vegetable. 'In certain localities,' says Consul Grattan, 'taking as an example the province of East Flanders, where an excess of population brings with it increased rent and diminished wages, the remedy would seem to be in emigration; yet strong local attachments, added perhaps in some degree to jealousy of race, appear to prevent the Flemish peasant from removing even as far as the neighbouring Walloon province of Hainault, where the want of agricultural labourers forms a source of complaint, and is looked upon as a serious inconvenience.'

'Although the rights of property,' says Mr. Wyndham, 'are in some parts of Belgium (Pays de Waes, and in the immediate vicinity of Brussels, for instance,) exercised with little if any consideration for the tenant, the Government have hitherto abstained, and I have been assured always would abstain, from legislating upon the relations of landlords with their tenants, as to the granting of leases, raising rents, &c., considering that such action would be interfering with the individual rights of property. . . . No attempts have been made by Government to create or increase the number of freeholders in Belgium (beyond the endeavour which I have stated, to colonize the Campine, and which failed). Such a scheme is looked upon as impracticable, and as one which would only lead to forming a class of persons who would always be looking to Government for assistance.'



Let Mr. Mill ponder well this *avertissement* to administrative philanthropy, and take note of the details (which we have not space for here) of the failure of the Belgian Government in its Campine project of colonization, before he next proposes that the English Government should buy with public money, on public account, land coming into the market, to cut up into small holdings on the East Flanders model, or lease in larger portions to co-operative associations of labourers. 'The Campine tenants,' says Mr. Wyndham, 'according to my informant, who was on the spot in charge of the works for irrigating the country, from the first considered themselves as Government pensioners; considered further that it was to the Government rather than to their own industry that they were thenceforth to look for a living; and moreover they turned to other purposes the subsidies which the Government gave to enable them to buy stock.'

After ten years' 'experiment' the Belgian Government had enough of it, put up the land and buildings to auction, and recovered about a sixth-part of what they had cost them. The purchaser at once evicted all the idle tenants he found upon the estate, granted six years' leases to other tenants (rather a long lease for Belgium), and converted the administrative failure into an improving private property.\*

The exclusive partisans of peasant-proprietorship always conclude by citing the Channel Islands as the palmary instance of high prosperity produced by small culture. Mr. Mill says, 'Of the efficiency and productiveness of agriculture on the small properties of the Channel Islands Mr. Thornton's "*Plea for Peasant Proprietors, &c.*" produces ample evidence, the result of which he sums up as follows:—

"Thus it appears that in the two principal Channel Islands the agricultural population is in the one twice, and in the other three times as dense as in Britain; there being in the latter country only

\* The Hon. T. J. Hovell Thurlow, in his volume entitled '*Trades' Unions Abroad, &c.*,' gives the following account of the final results of the establishment by the Dutch Government of the four pauper colonies of Fredericks-oord, Willems-oord, Veenhuizen and Ommerschans:—

'Notwithstanding all the advantages these poor colonists have possessed, in having the idle eliminated from their ranks, and all their wants at the commencement supplied, the scheme has not succeeded as a self-supporting institution. An item of charge in support of these pauper colonies (established in 1818, and meant to be self-supporting) is now of annual occurrence in the Budget of the Dutch Minister for the Home Department, and amounted in the Estimate for 1869 to 225,000 florins. As a means of reforming mendacity, and of raising the condition of the small occupiers, the result has not been more successful than from a mere financial point of view. Barely five per cent. of the small occupiers are stated to have cleared themselves from the debt they incurred (in purchasing the colony) to the Commune they came from, and to the Society, and have been able after the first sixteen years to pay a moderate rent. By some the failure of this laudable attempt is attributed to too much being done for the Colonists—their not indeed being allowed to starve. . . . The sudden creation of means of permanent relief, by their *ateliers nationaux* or pauper colonies, is the production of a cancer in the body corporate of society—an institution of artificial origin, requiring artificial support, and representing ultimately purely artificial clerity.'

one cultivator to twenty-two acres of cultivated land, while in Jersey there is one to eleven, and in Guernsey one to seven acres. *Yet the agriculture of these islands maintains besides cultivators, non-agricultural populations, respectively, four and five times as dense as that of Britain.\**

British readers (farming readers at least) must be 'four or five times as dense' as philo-peasant-proprietary writers have any right to expect to find them, to be capable of taking statements such as these for facts. The late Earl of Rosse, in his pamphlet on Ireland, published in 1867,\* gave the Statistical Returns of the Agricultural Stock and Produce imported into, and exported from, Jersey and Guernsey, from which it appears that the great bulk of the first necessities of life consumed in those islands is procured, not from their petty culture, but by importation. Prosperous as they are—and still more *have been*—from maritime and commercial sources, they have no pretension to be self-supporting agricultural communities at all. Guernsey, with a population of 29,753, imports 34,330 quarters of wheat, and exports *none*—imports 1297 oxen, exports 41—imports 4980 sheep, exports 40. 'With these imports,' says Lord Rosse, 'Guernsey cannot stand much in need of corn raised at home; and although the peasantry require very little animal food, the wealthy inhabitants of St Peter's Port and neighbourhood consume the usual quantity. Therefore a supply of meat has to be provided, in addition to the oxen and sheep imported, and, consequently, meadow, clover, and turnips, are the principal crops. In Jersey it is very much the same. So soon are fables dissipated by a little statistics. *The peasant-proprietor is often employed as a lever by those who seek to turn society upside down; we see how weak that lever is when the truth is known.*'

All the exclusive enthusiasts of peasant-proprietorship seem predestined to shipwreck on these same rocks of the Channel Islands. Mr. Cliffe Leslie, in his recently-published volume on 'Land Systems,' British and foreign, contrasts the Isle of Wight as having 'scarcely any commerce or shipping' with the Island of Jersey, 'carrying on trade with every quarter of the world.' He attributes the difference to the Island of Jersey being owned by small proprietors, and the Isle of Wight by large ones. Now, waiving the topographical circumstance that it might have been rather difficult to make trading ports of creeks like Brading Harbour, accessible only at high water—and only then to small craft—might it not have occurred to any one less in quest of agrarian arguments than our Irish professor, that 'every quarter

\* 'A Few Words on the Relation of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland,' &c. By the Earl of Rosse.

of the world' could more conveniently bring its trade to the mainland of Hampshire than to an outlying section of it insulated by a narrow channel? The Solent, to any one looking out from Ryde, shows no scarcity of commercial shipping; and the docks of Southampton might seem to dispense sufficiently with any necessity for cutting up little Vectis into big basins for ocean steamers. But if it is nothing but the lack of peasant-proprietors that diverts the trade of all the world from the direct access it would otherwise seek to the Isle of Wight, how is it that a like 'effect defective' does not extend to the rest of Great Britain? Here is England, on the one side, scant of peasant-proprietors, France, on the other side, swarming with them. Why does not England contrast as shabbily with France in international commerce, as Mr. Leslie laments that the Isle of Wight does with the Channel Islands? But really it is waste of time to combat what we should call such sheer puerilities if they proceeded from any source less officially respectable than the pen of a 'Professor of Political Economy' in a Queen's College and two Queen's Universities.

It may, however, be worth while to indicate for the benefit of those who need the information, how it has come to pass that the two principal Channel Islands have long maintained a population so much larger than their own agriculture had food for, and have long enjoyed an extent of commerce so much more than proportioned to the place their little rocky cluster fills on the map. The answer may be made in few words—because they have always had the privilege of carrying on a commerce entirely free from fiscal restrictions—on the one hand with the neighbouring ports of the Continent, and on the other with the shipping and colonies of this country. Jersey and Guernsey had free ports and free trade, while Great Britain and Ireland still submitted themselves to the self-imposed fetters of anti-commercial Corn Laws and Navigation Laws. 'By means of this privilege,' wrote the late Mr. Inglis in his book on the Channel Islands (published before the era of Free Trade had arrived in England), 'vessels are built (in Jersey) with foreign timber, are rigged with foreign cordage, yet have the advantage of British registers, and consequently enjoy all the advantages to be secured to British-built vessels.' Again, while the protective Corn Laws obstructed the importation of grain and flour into this country, the Channel Islands could import foreign wheat for their own consumption at free-trade prices, and export to England what wheat they themselves grew, to benefit by protective prices. More than this, they could grind foreign grain, and sell the flour as a native *manufacture* to British shipping and  
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British colonies. Under such circumstances it required surely the blindness of enthusiasm for exclusive peasant-proprietorship to assign to that source the growth of the shipping and trading prosperity of the Channel Islands, just as it had required the intrepidity of that enthusiasm (to give it no harsher name), to describe those islands as terrestrial paradises of a dense population, entirely fed by a self-supporting agriculture on the system of *la petite culture*.

We cannot close our present remarks without some brief reference to continental views and proceedings on the subject of operative associations, and labour-regulations and theories. Those have been interrupted in their calm and regular development by the great war between France and Germany; but a portentous phenomenon which has followed in the train of that war—the insurgent apparition of the INTERNATIONAL, with its myriad incendiary hands, and tongues, and pens—terribly demonstrates how the speculative delusions palmed on popular ignorance may blaze out in more than metaphorical conflagrations kindled by popular fanaticism. Some years before proletaire absolutism fired its own funeral-pile in Paris, a rather remarkable instance was reported of that *esprit prime-sautier* in the French workpeople, which has rendered Parisian proletarianism, from the first outbreak of the French Revolution to the present day, the ever ready and ever formidable instrument of political and social perturbations, unwillingly enlured in their too frequent recurrence by the French nation at large, and now at length suppressed with a strong hand by the national armed force. A few years back, the English operative ‘Internationals’ tried to get their Parisian brethren to join in a grand combined strike. ‘Why should we give ourselves any trouble about raising the rate of wages?’—was the reply of the latter to their comparatively practical English industrial co-revolutionists—‘when we are just on the eve of *suppressing wages altogether*, and becoming our own employers—(*nos propres patrons*.)’

It may be regarded as a somewhat noticeable sign of the times, that a recently reigning Emperor, and two rival pretenders to, or rival candidates for, the throne he so lately filled, should, within the last few years, have emulously exhibited in action or speculation their sympathies with the working classes, as their best title to sovereign power. Each of course, exhibited those sympathies ‘with a difference,’ according to their respective positions and antecedents. The Ex-Emperor of the French laid claim to every grand idea of operative elevation in the social scale of the future, as an *idée Napoléonienne*. The Comte de Chambord, in a manifesto dated from Venice, 20th April, 1865, traced all the  
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ills that afflict the working classes to the 'individualism' engendered by the French Revolution, which, in his royal view, has been the parent of industrial monopoly and the abuse of competition. (To logicians of a less august order, monopoly and competition might seem contradictory terms.) The Comte de Paris, in his recent *opuscule*, entitled '*Les Associations Ouvrières en Angleterre*,' kept in view, throughout, his political object of contrasting the liberties of England with the half-liberties of France under the Second Empire, and the illusory compensation for the substantial benefits of self-government held out by ostentatious official patronage of industrial interests.

The most remarkable fact of the present epoch, as regards this subject, is the abolition of the system of legal penalties against operative combinations, which is in course of being effected in Continental States—a system which in principle was abandoned in England nearly half a century back, at the epoch of the repeal of the old Combination Laws in 1824. Nothing remained to do in this country but what is just being done by Parliament—nothing but the 'crowning of the edifice' of operative emancipation. No objection is now opposed to the legislative recognition of the corporate existence and corporate rights of 'Trades' Unions, except their adherence to regulations adverse to the freedom and safety of the larger unorganized union of peaceful citizens and workers outside their pale. It is near half a century since legislation in this country abandoned its old untenable position, of proscribing all operative combinations as criminal. And the only limit the law now seeks to impose on the freedom of 'Trades' Unions is that of enforcing respect on their part for the equal freedom of the great majority of their non-unionist fellow-workpeople, who may continue to think fit, as hitherto they have thought fit, to stay out of the unions.

The Continent now stands just at the turning-point of industrial legislation at which we stood in 1824—it being also remembered that the liberty of meeting for any purpose is as new a concession, generally speaking, on the Continent, to every other class of citizens as to the working class. In 1842, when M. Leclaire—the Paris house-painter, since celebrated—first adopted in his own establishment the principle which is now assumed in the economical quarters to be universally applicable, of conceding a share of profits in his concern to a select portion of his workpeople—the government of Louis Philippe thwarted his project by refusing him the permission requisite to assemble his workpeople for the purpose of laying his plan before them. In Prussia and Austria, the law has hitherto punished, as formerly in England, with fine and imprisonment, any workman who  
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combined with his fellows for the purpose of obtaining concessions from their employer by striking work. Similar legislation has been in force in Belgium and the other smaller states. Operative emancipation is achieving itself almost suddenly in continental Europe, and is producing phenomena if not of lawlessness in action equal to some of our unions, yet of far more Utopian extravagance in speculation—as witness the doctrines promulgated at the International Labour-Congresses of late years. Wages have been indignantly characterized as an humiliation to labour—capital as a hostile power, when in any other than Labour's hands. It has been loudly proclaimed to be the foremost duty of the State to set operative productive associations on their legs by lavish subsidies at the public charge; and the doctrines of the late Ferdinand Lassalle, the apostle of State-support to co-operative societies, are articles of economic faith among large numbers of the working population in Northern and Southern Germany. In short it is clear that continental proletarianism, breaking from its old fetters, will wage an internecine war against property and social order.

'Lorsque le faible devient fort,' impressively writes M. Edmond About,\* 'lorsque l'opprimé devient libre, son premier mouvement n'est pas d'user, mais d'abuser. Déliez les mains d'un brave homme enchaîné sans cause légitime: il ne jettera pas la chaîne, il la ramassera avec soin pour l'attacher aux mains de celui qui la lui a donnée. S'il agissait autrement, il ne serait pas un homme, mais un ange.'

ART. IX.—1. *The Elementary Education Act, 1870.*

2. *Minute of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, establishing a new Code of Regulations, 1871.*

3. *The School Board Chronicle*, N s. I.—XX. February to July, 1871.

4. *The Sixtieth Repor. of the National Society, 1871.*

THE period which has elapsed since we last called attention to the elementary education of the people,† has been one of unexampled educational activity. The Education Act had then just been introduced into the House of Commons; now, after passing through an ordeal of fierce discussion and emerging with

\* A, B, C, du Travailleur,' p. 151.

† In April, 1870.  
considerable

considerable modifications, it has become law, and has thus inaugurated the first scheme of education in England which can in the strict sense be called 'National,' as really providing for the elementary instruction of every child in the country. As a necessary corollary to it has followed the New Code, reversing in many important respects the 'Revised Code,' of which we have heard so much in measured praise and unmeasured censure, and certainly indicating very distinctly a resolution on the part of the Education Department to deal with the great cause entrusted to its care in a more generous spirit, in respect not only of larger pecuniary supply but of greater liberality of idea. As a consequence of the same legislation, School Boards have been created in the metropolis, in all the largest towns, and in many even of the smaller towns and hamlets, wielding large powers under the Act, and evidently prepared to exercise them with energy and ability. Last, but not wholly least, the influence of the time has spread to the existing school system. There has been an extraordinary creation of new voluntary schools; the Education Department, we hear, stood fairly aghast at the number of applications for building grants—the last which the state is ever to make to voluntary agencies—and as the close of 1870 approached, its experience showed a state of things not unlike the bustle and excitement of the last day on which railway schemes can be deposited for the consideration of Parliamentary Committees. The Church of England has been stirred to new efforts to preserve and complete the system which has done such noble work during the last thirty years; \* the Roman Catholic body, occupying here, as on all other questions, an exceptional position, has shown extraordinary munificence in the creation of new schools for its own people. If the voluntary system is to die, as its opponents prophesy, it is certainly resolved to die hard; if, as we hope, it is to live, it is taking the right means to secure a new power of vitality and a new lease of life.

All these movements mark an educational crisis. The public mind is roused to the importance of the subject, and, in spite of all the disturbing influences of party or sectarian jealousy, is resolutely bent on doing the work set before the country in a practical and uncontroversial spirit. It is, of course, inevitable that thorough consideration of the problem should disclose its enormous magnitude, its bewildering intricacy, and its ineradicable difficulties; nor are there wanting the men who, from sheer timidity, cry out that there are 'lions in the path,' or with per-

\* The National Society has made grants to no less than 1411 schools (which, of course, are Church schools only) to be erected at an outlay of 848,000*l.*, and to contain 195,000 children.

verse ingenuity seek to exaggerate and even to create perplexities. But we do not believe that at the present time they have much power over public opinion. Englishmen have a strong belief in the *solvitur ambulando* principle; they have over and over again done what theorists pronounced to be impossible; and, if their work does show some abstract imperfections, they are always ready to consider such imperfections abundantly compensated by solidity and practical energy: they prefer an irregular reality to a 'faultless monster that the world ne'er saw.' Accordingly at this moment they are more ready to listen to the practical educationists, who declare that the thing has been already done in great part and shall be done completely, than to the alarmists, who cry out that the attempt is hopeless, or the revolutionists, who would use this cry as an excuse for making a clean sweep of all former erections, and building up a new fabric on the vacant space, perhaps with the ruins of the old. The time may come when the cold fit will return; then, we fear, timidity and economy, party spirit and revolutionism, will gain a hearing. Meanwhile it is earnestly to be desired that the great impulse given may carry us well over the dead point, and that the creative enthusiasm of the present moment may have done what it will be in great degree impossible to undo.

Progress then, and great progress there will undoubtedly be. But we are of the number—which we hope in England is still considerable—of those who are not content to be going fast, without knowing whither we are going; we would welcome all necessary change, but both theory and experience teach us that those changes are most orderly and healthy which are real developments of what has grown up by a gradual and natural growth, and which preserve at every step the link of an organic continuity with the past. Rejoicing in the present educational enthusiasm, sympathizing to the utmost with the various movements thus combining to secure the triumph of the good cause, we yet think it natural that men should ask, What are really our present educational prospects? Shall we secure a real improvement and growth? Can we hope, even approximately, to attain our great ideal, the education—elementary, indeed, but substantial—of every English child?

These questions assume various forms, and are asked in various tones of feeling and opinion. But, speaking generally, the real points of interest to the country are these three: First, What will be the effect of the new system of rate-supported schools, backed by the compulsory power of the law, upon the voluntary system, which has hitherto been thought to be congenial to our national character, and which has certainly done considerable work?

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Must the law, stepping down from its position of mere control and impartiality into the arena of practical work, necessarily absorb all other agencies into itself? Next comes the question, which gives this last its chief vividness of actual interest, What will be the attitude of future education towards the religious principle, which up to this time has been the chief motive force in the educational work, and which in any case must, at least, claim to be represented in all systems of elementary instruction? Thirdly, we ask, Is there any chance of really extending our education, at once in area and in quality, so as to remedy the many defects which have always been acknowledged as marring and obstructing its work? Some answers to these three questions we shall endeavour now to suggest.

I. In considering the relation of the new state of things to the previously existing system, it is important to remember that the Education Act, as passed, has been materially altered from the Bill originally introduced by Mr. Forster, and sketched out in our last article on this subject. It has had to submit to the fate which attends on almost all measures adopted by a popular assembly; much of its theoretical symmetry and simplicity of principle has been sacrificed to the necessity of making it so far correspond to the various opinions of political and ecclesiastical parties, that it might pass, and having passed, be a really workable measure.

In the first instance it made the creation of School Boards a distinctly supplemental and (so to speak) a remedial measure. There was first to be a public inquiry into the 'sufficiency, efficiency, and suitability' of the existing school machinery. If it was found defective, there was next to be a notice addressed by the Education Department to the authorities of the locality, calling upon them to supply schools in any way they chose; and only if such notice produced no adequate result, was a School Board to be formed after a given time, to supply by legal compulsion the resources which were not otherwise forthcoming. This provision was greatly modified in Parliament. It was taken for granted that there would be deficiency in the metropolis, and accordingly a London School Board, itself a new conception, inasmuch as it was to have jurisdiction over a population of some four millions, to dispense immense revenues, and to exercise most extensive influence, was to be created at once. Then power was given to the authorities of any locality to apply for a School Board immediately; and, in consequence, already more than a hundred School Boards are existent and at work. In fact, the general result is (allowing for exceptions on both sides), that in rural districts and small towns the voluntary system

system will for the present cover the whole area and supply all educational requirements, while in the larger towns the rate-supported schools will, with as little delay as possible, be established. In some cases, indeed—we think only a few—the creation of Boards does not imply this, the only object contemplated being the acquisition of power to compel attendance. But the general result is pretty nearly as we have stated it, and the inevitable rivalry of the two sets of schools will begin forthwith.

Another change introduced into the Bill during its passage through Parliament tends to make the separation between the two systems more rigid and to produce a more distinct antagonism. It was originally intended (as we pointed out) that School Boards might assist existing public elementary schools, on certain conditions of impartiality, and under the control of the Education Department. This provision was struck out; and we think its omission singularly unfortunate. It might certainly have saved expenditure and promoted efficiency of education, by bringing the powers of School Boards more extensively into play. But what is of more consequence is, that it would have provided a link between the purely voluntary and purely legal systems. There would have been the schools independent of the Board, and the schools supported by rates, as now; but between them would have been interposed an intermediate class of 'rate-aided' schools, which might have linked them together, and supplied a ready means of passing from one extreme to the other. If the two systems are to be hostile, this is well; some, indeed, of the adherents of the voluntary system rejoice in it accordingly. But if their rivalry is to wear the friendly aspect of co-operation, this alteration is decidedly an alteration for the worse.

In relation to this rivalry the Bill preserves, generally speaking, the most complete impartiality. The conditions of aid and the amount of aid from the State are to be precisely the same for both classes of public elementary schools; and even schools which do not fall under that category, if efficient, although they cannot be aided, are to be counted, nevertheless, in estimating the educational resources of a district. The principle of the Education Department is still as before. Let the work be done thoroughly by any local machinery whatever: it is our business simply to test and to reward it, in the name of the Nation which it benefits. There is, however, one marked exception to this impartiality, in respect of that most important power—the power of compelling attendance. As things now stand, one district, having a School Board, will have this power, and may fill its schools thereby; another close at hand, just because its resources are already sufficient, will have no Board, and therefore no power  
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to compel the use of those resources. This is obviously a fatal blot on the measure; and that it was so, was pointed out during the discussion of the Bill. It is no answer to say that the power to compel is only permissive, and the whole provision tentative; because, if the matter is one of privilege, equal privilege ought to be conceded to all, and if an experiment is to be tried, it ought to be tried fairly. It was proposed, if we mistake not, that, where no School Board existed, some body representing the ratepayers should have the power to compel attendance (which power, indeed, the Poor-Law Guardians have, virtually, at this moment, in respect of the children of out-door paupers); but to all such proposals the Government turned a deaf ear. Their object was, we presume, to give a premium on the creation of School Boards, and it may have been obtained. But this consideration cannot outweigh the unfairness and inexpediency of the present arrangement; and we gather, from an answer of Mr. Forster to a deputation from the National Education Union, that in some way it is intended to rectify it. However, wherever a School Board exists, the Act distinctly suggests perfect impartiality of action. If compulsory attendance is enforced, the parent may send his child to any efficient school that he pleases; and (to touch now upon a point of sore controversy) wherever the Board sees it right to meet cases of absolute poverty by giving a free education to any child, the Act evidently contemplates remission of fees in its own schools and payment of fees in other elementary schools as co-ordinate processes,\* equally admissible and equally desirable. The general idea, therefore, of the Act, is to give fair play to both classes of schools. It is (to refer to much-abused words) neither 'denominational' nor 'undenominational' in its tendencies. Its whole aim is to be impartial, at once conservative of all that is worth conserving, and creative of that which is still needed. Just because it is so, it has received the support of all who are not misguided by party spirit or sectarian jealousy, and—the malcontents at Bradford notwithstanding—has immeasurably raised Mr. Forster's reputation as a statesman.

It would have been well if this same spirit of impartiality

\* The point is so important that we print the actual clauses:

II. Every child attending a school provided by any School Board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the School Board, with the consent of the Education Department, but the School Board may from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same, but such remission shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

XXV. The School Board may if they think fit, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school to any child resident in their district whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or remitted on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

had been allowed to prevail in the various School Boards. But, unhappily, it has not been so; under the names of Liberality and Unsectarianism, what we must call an illiberal and sectarian dislike of the denominational schools has shown itself, in a vehement and almost furious protest against carrying out the principle of the Act. In Birmingham, in Liverpool, and in London, this has been the one question which has split the Boards asunder; at Liverpool, the malcontents, defeated on the Board, assailed the Education Department, and received, as they deserved, a decided, although courteous, rebuff. Mr. Forster was not called upon to pronounce on the wisdom or folly of the decision of the Board; but it was really absurd to ask him to interfere with it, against the spirit of his own Act, not only in this section, but throughout its whole tenor. In the London Board, on a similar defeat, the minority, represented by Professor Huxley, seem to have lost their tempers, and, for the first time, to have threatened the factious opposition, which is too well known in the House of Commons, and to which every popular assembly is liable whenever an angry party chooses to abuse the forms, which are meant simply to ensure a fair debate, and so to weary out a majority. The Act is, we see, given up by these gentlemen; it was hard to conceive, even from the beginning, how any fair reading of it could be pressed into their service, and Mr. Forster's honest interpretation of it, in the name of the Department, renders their case quite hopeless in this quarter. They are reduced, therefore, to argue the question on its own merits. Evidently the Act suggests only, it cannot enforce any course of action in the matter. The School Boards are free to act as they will, and the real question is, what is the just and expedient course.

The true nucleus of the opposition is formed of the men who would have carried out the revolutionary policy of the League, who hate all denominational schools, and look with repugnance on the impartial attitude of the Education Act towards them. Their principle is intelligible enough; they would have no aid whatever given from any public source to any school connected with this or that denomination. If they could have a secular system they would choose it as the best; if they cannot have this, they will at least have an 'unsectarian' scheme. Whatever tends to keep up the existing schools they oppose at every step; beaten in respect of support from the Imperial exchequer, they renew the fight in respect of aid from local rates; precisely the old arguments are brought out with a new face, and a renewal of the Church-rate agitation, with all the virulence which local party spirit can infuse into it, is loudly threatened. But if this section

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stood alone, its inherent weakness would soon be shown, in the Boards as in the public generally; on this and other points of its programme it would be beaten by an overwhelming majority. In fact, however, it has drawn to itself a considerable amount of support from those who cannot see the real merits of the question, and are blinded by the mere dazzle of the word 'unsectarian.'

There is a great confusion of ideas in this matter. In the first place, the word 'denominational' is used with a convenient ambiguity. It really means on this question 'connected with a certain religious body;' and those who talk of the 'denominations and the people,' 'the denominational and the unsectarian parties,' and the like, should remember that, after all, the 'denominations' in this sense actually include the large mass of all the education, wealth, and power of the country; and the residuum, except where its numbers are swelled by mere ignorance or carelessness, comprehends a comparatively small party or sect—the sect of secularists or 'unattached Christians.' But the name is used as though it implied a really sectarian spirit of narrowness and an enthusiasm of proselytism in these schools; and, so used, it is utterly inconsistent with facts testified to over and over again from all quarters, and still more inconsistent with the provisions laid down for the future. With a Time-table Conscience Clause, an ignoring of all religious instruction by the Inspectors, and a vigilant School Board, including that party which has as keen a nose for sectarianism as ever the Holy Office had for heresy, what intolerance or narrowness of action would be possible? Yet if it is not possible, why make all this ado? If a school is good, and if only secular instruction is enforced, what can it matter whether it be a Board school or a Denominational school? The fact is, although it can hardly be avowed, that the real jealousy is of the Church schools. The Church has worked in the cause, while the Nonconformists have been comparatively inactive, and content to use her schools; and therefore the mass of the existing schools belong to her. The natural results of her energy are now grudged to her; and if her schools cannot be taken away, they shall, it seems, at least not be fed. But this would not make a good cry; the vaguer denunciation of denominationalism serves the purpose better.

Then, again, there is a confusion between the different functions of the Board itself. It is, first of all, an educating body, providing and maintaining schools; and here the Act emphatically proclaims that it shall be 'undenominational,' that is, that its schools shall be quite unconnected with any religious or irreligious body. On this point no difference of opinion exists. But then it has two other powers—the power to compel parents

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to send their children to school, and the power to meet all cases in which poverty might rightly be pleaded as an excuse. These powers are correlative to and co-extensive with each other; and both are clearly far wider than the Board's educatory action. The Act in each case protects the freedom of the parents. If they are compelled to send their children to school, they may choose a Church school, or a Board school (which will generally be a school of Bible-teaching), or a secular school, where they can find one. This, again, is allowed on all hands. But if they cannot pay their fees, the Board is, after due inquiry, to supply the defect in some way or other. In this respect it is merely to do what the Guardians may do, and ought always to do, under Evelyn Denison's Act, by making the payment of school pence a part of out-door relief. The operation of the Board is here so simply that of relieving officers, that it is seen to have nothing whatever to do with education; and, in fact, the best solution of the question may perhaps be to set aside the kindly desire of the Act to avoid inflicting the stigma of pauperism in this matter, and transfer all relieving functions whatever to the Guardians. Now the real question, stripped of all the rhetorical ornaments and collateral issues with which it has been encumbered, is simply this,—Shall the Board take advantage of a parent's poverty to interfere with his liberty, and not only compel him to send his children to school, but practically dictate the school to which he shall send them? It may be contended that paupers have no rights, and that, if they ask for relief, they must take it on any conditions assigned. But it is strange to hear this plea put forward by the friends of 'the masses,' and the tried supporters of 'liberality.'

And this brings us to another confusion of ideas on this subject. It is supposed that the proposal to pay the fees in existing schools is made in the interests of these schools exclusively. Certainly it is contended that they shall have fair play, and that the crime of orthodoxy—the one unpardonable crime in the eyes of 'advanced Liberals'—shall not absolutely outlaw them. But as far as their interests are concerned, it will be a double-edged measure. In some cases it may do them good by aiding their finances and filling their benches; in other cases—thanks to the strong class-feeling which exists in the section of the people supplying scholars to the elementary schools, and the jealous tenacity with which social distinctions are cherished, wherever they are undefined by any visible mark of rank—it may do harm; and we hear the managers are anxiously inquiring whether they can be forced to receive children, whether they like it or not. The picture of a 'gigantic system of out-door relief'

relief' which has been so vividly drawn and so skilfully displayed, is coloured mainly by imagination, and will be found to be very imperfectly correspondent with fact. The real interests involved are those of the rate-payers and those of the parents. The rate-payers will have a right to complain, if, where Board schools are not wanted, they are built to supply the needs of the poorest class, when these needs might be met far more economically by payment to existing schools. The parents will have a still greater right to complain, if the mere fact of poverty is made to disqualify them from exercising that freedom of choice and that direction of their children which are conceded to all others. The question to be answered is, What cause has been shown why these manifest rights should be calmly set aside? And in spite of all the eloquence which has been lavished on the subject, we have never seen any sufficient answer.\*

Most of the Boards seem to have deferred action till they have schools of their own at work, and can see exactly to what extent their relieving or eleemosynary action is likely to go. This is probably wise. If the principle adopted in London prevails generally, and Board schools become really schools of religious teaching and tone, we fancy that the operation of the proposed payment will be very circumscribed. If secular schools be set up to any great extent by the Boards it will be otherwise; for the grievance of forcing children to them will be deeply and extensively felt. But in either case the merits of the question remain exactly the same, and sooner or later it must be settled.

Supposing, then, that both classes of schools receive strict impartiality from the Legislature, from the Department, and from the Guardians and School Boards, it still remains to ask—and the answer is one of great importance and difficulty—whether the existing schools will be able to maintain themselves in the face of the rivalry which they must undergo, and of the fact that their supporters will be doubly burdened, by the payment of the rate and the contribution of subscriptions. The answer must be, in some degree, conjectural, for there has been as yet no experience of such a state of things in England. But two things are quite certain: first, that their maintenance will require very considerable effort; and next, that the effort is well worth making.

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\* We are sorry to see that prejudice has been introduced into the discussion in relation to the Roman Catholics, who are thought likely to be chiefly benefited by this payment of fees. Surely the question is simply one of justice: possibly, although we protest against the Roman Catholic practice of making their position exceptional, and this making use of its exceptionality, some little indulgence might be not unreasonably conceded to them, considering the great mass of poverty with which they have to deal.

As to the first of these points, it is, we fear, no matter of theory, but already, by anticipation, a matter of experience, that the payment or expectation of a rate materially diminishes the subscription-list. No one can wonder at this who considers how that list has hitherto been filled. There are found in it (to take the instance of a Church school) the names first of those who look upon education as a spiritual work, and believe that the Church, as such, ought to work in it as one of her regular functions. These will, no doubt, in great measure, continue staunch; and, even under the additional burden, their support will probably not greatly diminish. But there are many who have supported the elementary schools simply as a public duty to the community, not caring much how they were supplied and looking chiefly to their secular results; these will certainly be likely to diminish, if not to withdraw, their subscriptions, unless it can be proved to them that the voluntary schools will still be needed as a valuable element in the new system. And the third class of persons, who give just because others give, will follow the other two; but if the examples set are discordant, they will be pretty sure to choose for imitation the one which excuses them from putting their hands into their pockets. Clearly, therefore, there will be increased difficulty: not so much in the rural districts—for there the fear of a rate may induce an effort to keep it out—but in the towns, and especially in London, where School Boards already exist and rule over large areas, each considered as a whole; so that a parish or locality which has provided itself abundantly with schools will, nevertheless, have to help in making up by rates for the neglect or the poverty of its neighbours. Therefore, even if the calls on existing schools in the future were likely to be no heavier than in the past, there would be difficulty. But they must be heavier. The Boards, we hear, have wisely resolved to arrange and officer their schools on a scale of completeness and liberality much above that average which elementary schools have hitherto attained. The effect of this will necessarily be to force other schools to do the same—at least wherever the rivalry of the two systems is an accomplished fact. This effect will be most valuable educationally: in fact, we believe it to be absolutely necessary. But it will make a serious call on the resources of voluntary schools, and increase the difficulty of their struggle for existence. Either they must increase their subscriptions, or increase their school-fees. The greater liberality of the 'New Code' will help them, but it will equally help their rivals; and it must be remembered that the grant can in no case exceed the revenue derived from the subscription and school-fees. We cannot, there-



fore, wonder that the adherents of the old system look on the present state of things with alarm and even despondency, and that some of the supporters of the League quietly rejoice in anticipation of the 'painless extinction' which they were good enough to propose for the existing schools.

But we do not believe that such a result need follow, and we are sure that it would be a great evil if it did follow. There will be some counteracting influences of a secondary nature. It is quite possible that old associations, social prejudices, the notion that all rates are much alike, and that a rate school is something like a workhouse school, may tend to fill our voluntary schools, and even make it possible for them to charge higher fees, so as to compensate for diminished subscriptions. The effect would be—and we have heard it anticipated by many whose opinion is valuable—that the Board schools would gravitate towards the lower stratum (speaking socially) of the classes needing elementary education, while the other schools assumed a comparatively aristocratic character. If the Boards should incline rather to remit fees in their own schools for those unable to pay, than actually to pay fees in other schools, this tendency would, no doubt, be enhanced. But, after all, such causes as these are at best merely secondary, and are apt to be exceedingly capricious in their operation. No one can well reckon upon them. They may be very powerful, or all but ineffective; they may work as men expect, or turn round, like elephants in a battle, and destroy the ranks for which they were intended to clear the way,

If the voluntary schools are to exist, they must prove that they have a right to exist—that they can do work valuable enough to stimulate and to reward the effort which their maintenance will need. Now we are strongly convinced that the success of our first attempt at a true national education largely depends on the co-existence of the two classes of schools, and their action, direct and indirect, upon each other. The rate-supported schools will improve the old by the simple fact of their present rivalry, and the readiness of the new system to absorb the old, if the old should fail. Many, we suppose, especially of the private adventure schools, will be 'improved off the face of the earth;' and, speaking generally, we shall not regret them, for they will be those which are shams, or, at any rate, are starved and ineffective. But those which are good in various degrees—and most of the public schools are good in capacity, if not in performance—will be forced to be better. They will be obliged to become 'Public Elementary Schools' in the meaning of the Act, *i.e.*; to maintain a proper teaching staff, to submit to Govern-  
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ment inspection, and to provide strictly for the rights of conscience. All those changes, whether welcome or unwelcome, will really be benefits, received from the co-existence of the new rate-supported schools.

But they will do more than repay those benefits. There is a great value in the voluntary principle itself; in the greater freedom and variety of which it admits; in the union of various classes as fellow-workers in a labour which is one of love, or, at any rate, of duty, and not of compulsion; in the unpaid and often priceless service which it can command; in the absence of that hard compulsory tone and jealous watchfulness which belong to all merely legal functionaries. Every one knows the difference between a voluntary hospital and a workhouse, or even a workhouse infirmary. The law can at best be just; it has no power and no right to be generous. We believe that, if the rate-supported schools were allowed to cover the whole educational area, they would be liable to sink to a lower level of conception, and to assume a more perfunctory tone in work, especially when the heavy burden of their maintenance began to be felt, and when colder reasoning succeeded to the present heat of enthusiasm. The existence of the voluntary schools will keep them up to the mark of vigour and spirit, just as they preserve their rivals from fitfulness and want of steadiness in work. The two will be just like a party of riders and a carriage pursuing the same road; the riders alternately start on and fall behind the carriage, and so produce spirit and variety; while the steady roll of the wheels keeps the whole together, and secures a good average of pace. The want of such friendly rivalry appears to be sadly felt in the American system.

Then again (to anticipate in some degree what will be said hereafter), the religious character of education will depend very much still on the voluntary schools. It is true—we rejoice that it is true—that Bible teaching and religious influence are to be the rule in Board schools; and indeed this very fact, while it tends to sustain the Christianity of the country, will, in some degree, militate against the prosperity of voluntary schools. If the Board schools had been mainly secular, we feel convinced that, under all disadvantages, the religious schools would have beaten them; as it is, the contest is more doubtful. But the religious teaching of the new schools is encumbered with much difficulty, because of the condition of 'undenominationalism,' which is held to be implied in the Cowper-Temple Clause. There is an active and intelligent party, who will watch for such difficulties, eagerly endeavouring to exaggerate them where they exist, to create them where they do not. At present the majority of

the Boards and the school-managers whom they appoint, will be honestly anxious to work the system efficiently, and may expect to find many difficulties vanish as they grapple with them. If the old schools shall exist, preserving a religious tone, and offering an easy refuge from actual or virtual secularism, then, we believe, their attempt will succeed. Even for the sake of self-preservation, to say nothing of the contagion of a noble example, the new schools will preserve, under all difficulties, a substantially religious character. Let the voluntary schools decay and vanish, and we do not feel so sure of this result. The example of the United States is not encouraging. It is generally known that the common schools have there become virtually secular; in ordinary cases nothing is left except the reading of a passage of Scripture, and the use of some very general prayer at the opening of school. But it is not so well known, that originally the system was intended to 'provide religious instruction for all children,' and that it has gradually faded into what it is, because it is provided that this religious instruction shall not 'favour the tenets of any particular sect of Christians.' We trust that such might not be the case in England, if the new schools were left in undisputed possession of the field; but we cannot feel sure that the same causes would not operate to produce the same results. Doubly then we believe that the old schools are of paramount value here. They can work most effectively for religious instruction themselves. Most of them are connected with the Church, and all the prestige and influence of the Church is brought to bear upon their religious tone, while the absence of all fetters on the religious teaching should help it to greater definiteness and vigour. But, besides this, their reflex action on the new schools is of at least equal importance. To lose it would be, in our view, nothing short of a calamity to the Christianity of England.

Connected with both these considerations is the fact that, in our old schools the influence of the clergy and other ministers of religion will always be felt, while from the Board schools, it is, at least in London, to be jealously excluded. It is acknowledged on all hands, a few rabid fanatics excepted, that the past education of the country owes more to them than to any other class—we had almost said, than to all other classes put together. Their service has this especial value, that it is wholly voluntary, for a clergyman has, legally speaking, no obligation whatever to aid a day-school; it is from the nature of the case, the service of men of higher education and character, than any who are likely otherwise to take part in the work; it must, even if it be occasionally spoilt by a narrowness and intolerance, be  
a distinctly

a distinctly spiritual influence, tending to enforce the highest view of education, and—last, not least—it will be so long as the Church is established, the most universal and the most unfailing service. It is impossible that it should not tell very powerfully and very beneficially upon the education of the people. At the present moment the Boards will probably sacrifice it, as the London Board has already done, in simple fear of sectarianism, either in the clerical teachers, or in the anti-clericals who exclude them. It is possible that they may hereafter get over this jealousy, and feel that they have made a very needless and ruinous sacrifice at its shrine. But this is still doubtful; and, while it is so, we must regard the old schools as specially valuable, in the fact that they preserve for us this influence, which, whatever may have been its defects, has certainly been as yet the leading influence in the great work.

The general result to which we come, for these reasons and others which might be adduced, is that the voluntary schools will be, to a great extent, our security for what may be called ‘the spiritual element’ in our education, by which we mean, not only religious instruction and influence, although these are its highest form, but all that tends to give to education, in its subjects and in its tone, the really noble aspect of a process, which as developing man’s faculties is its own reward, and which it is incumbent on the community to give, simply for the sake of duty, and in obedience to a great law of God’s Providence. The schools created and sustained by the compulsory power of law, will give body to our education, greatly enhance its strength, extend its area, improve its organization; but, if they are left alone, there will be a danger of their directing it to lower objects, and conducting it on lower motives. Unite the two, and keep them both in vigour, and the system will approach a perfection, which neither element, even if indefinitely extended and strengthened, could secure.

If these views are in any degree correct, and if their correctness is recognised, then we believe that the old schools will continue and even flourish. A great effort was made in the ‘time of grace’ allowed (up to Dec. 31st, 1870) to occupy all possible ground with them. The various religious bodies of the country are energetically endeavouring to sustain and invigorate them. Perhaps the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, and the Wesleyans, are most alive to the necessity; other religious communities are content with an ‘undenominational’ system, and have not sufficiently reflected, although on their own principles they are most of all bound to reflect, that it may become a different thing, if it be a State system having  
a monopoly

a monopoly, from that which it is at present in the hands of the British and Foreign Society, existing side by side with 'denominational' societies. We wish all success to this action, proceeding as it does on purely religious grounds; but we feel convinced that the duty of keeping up the voluntary schools rests on a wider basis, that it should come home to many of those who delight most in the introduction of the new system, and that it may appeal even to some who regard education in its higher aspects, although they may not be inclined to give supremacy to religion. We do not venture to prophesy what the future may bring forth; we listen, with suspension of belief, to the gloomy forebodings of the men of the old school, who still doubt whether the new Act was needed, in the face of plain and terrible facts; nor do we give more credence to the exulting prophecies of those on the other side, whose wish is father to their thought, when they picture to themselves the paradise of State education, which, by the way, has in America been found to have thorns in the midst of its roses, and a serpent under the grass. We think that the principle of voluntary action is dear to the hearts, and familiar to the practice of Englishmen; we believe that still the religious bodies, as such, have a strong hold over public opinion, and an almost irresistible influence in action. But we have yet greater confidence in the conviction that the voluntary schools have still a *raison d'être*, and that, while this is the case, they will not be allowed to pine away. They may be destroyed; but, if so, it will be by their own fault, because they show themselves inefficient, or because they misuse their special opportunities. Those who fought so hard and so successfully to resist the destructive energies of the League, and to carry the Bill, just because it was a supplemental and not a revolutionary measure, will surely not allow the life, which they have secured from direct violence, to die out of sheer inanition.

II. We pass on to the next question, which after all is the one nearest to the hearts of Englishmen generally, and inquire, How will Religion fare under the new system?

We do not think it necessary here to lay elaborately the foundation of first principles, by insisting on the paramount importance of the question, and the utter impossibility of shelving it. Religious education does not consist merely in giving a certain amount of theological or religious instruction; it implies, in the first place, the starting from a certain basis, by treating the child, not merely as an individual being, not merely as the member of a family and of a state, but as a child of God—that is, as being created by God to have communion with Him, and to do

do His will. Then, in the process of education, it adds to the facts of nature and of humanity, which all education must endeavour to teach, the facts of a relation to God, which in a Christian system involve the facts of the work and the nature of Christ, and the office of the Holy Spirit. Lastly, in the object which it proposes to the child as the reward of education, it is not content with aiming at his own development and happiness, with training him to do his duty in this life to his family, to his country and to mankind at large—it proposes to lead him to have an object, to ‘do all to the glory of God,’ which from the nature of the case looks beyond all visible relations, and refuses to confine its operations within the limits of this life. Now this may be true, and, if so, it is the greatest truth; it may be false, and, if so, it is the deadliest falsehood. But in no case can it be treated as a secondary matter over which men may agree to differ. The old words ‘religious’ and ‘irreligious’ imply a certain fundamental antagonism; the newly-coined phrase ‘non-religious,’ attempts an impossible neutrality. If religion be excluded, it is more than ignored; the effect on teacher and on pupil must be equivalent to a denial. There can be no wonder, therefore, that the attempt to send it into banishment, however honourable, stirred all English society to its very depths.

Nor is it necessary to show that if religious influence is to touch the great mass of the children who will crowd our new schools, it must be brought to bear on them in the school itself. Those who talk of relegating it to the influence of home, must either be ignorant of what the homes (so called) of the children are, or else must be speaking in a mocking and cruel irony. The proposal to trust to the distinctly religious teaching of various bodies, through their ministers or their laity, in churches and chapels, Sunday schools and cottage lectures, is more plausible and more really hopeful; but it ignores two very serious difficulties—the impossibility of getting hold of the children in a large majority of cases, and the great difficulty of finding places for them and sufficient teaching machinery to bear upon them, if they do come. These pleas have been pretty well ‘threshed out,’ and the small quantity of wheat in them effectually separated from the large quantity of chaff. It is agreed, with tolerable unanimity, that the proposal to exclude religion from the schools is virtually a proposal to exclude it in very great measure from the theory and process of education.

The great question, therefore, has had fairly to be faced. We always thought that its decision would not be doubtful. As Prim declared that there could not be a Republic in Spain without Republicans, so, with more unquestionable truth, we  
believed

believed that there could not be a secular system in England without secularists. But we are inclined to think that neither party in the educational strife anticipated the decisiveness and vigour with which the answer of public opinion has been given on this point. Let us glance for a moment at the history of the struggle, as it has been carried on during the last two years.

It was assuredly the agitation of the League to which we may, at least, give the credit of awakening men to the importance of the educational crisis, and making inaction a thing impossible. The agitation was skilfully conducted, and its directors knew their business too well to inscribe on their banners anything except the vague word 'unsectarian;' but the real backbone of the League was in the secularist party, and the energy which they showed and the noise which they contrived to make gave an idea of far greater strength than they really possessed, and probably did much to affect future legislation. The Education Union, which rose up to oppose them, was originally too merely Conservative, refusing to acknowledge the necessity of any large and decisive measure; and this fact, in the first instance, told in favour of the League, and gave colour to the notion that the secularists were the real leaders of the large body of those who were resolved not to be content with the system and the results of the past. It was only just before the meeting of Parliament that the Union saw the necessity of a more decided course, and put out a programme, anticipating (as it proved) several important features of Mr. Forster's original Bill. That measure, as at first introduced, so far recognised the claims of the secularist party, that it preserved for the central authority an attitude of rigid neutrality. It admitted secular schools to the same privileges and aid hitherto given only to schools of some religious character; it left the inspection in religious subjects an open question, giving to the schools which desired it liberty to ask for it, and to the Education Department discretion to grant or refuse the request; it enforced on all schools receiving grants a general 'Conscience clause,' enabling parents to withdraw their children if they pleased from all religious instruction and observance. This was a course which hitherto had never been followed in England. The old theory of an exclusive recognition of the Church had long been surrendered; now the State took a further step and recognised the possibility and the claims of a non-religious system of education. The step was important, in itself and in its significance. But it was generally accepted as inevitable; the adherents of religious education had little fear of secularism, if only 'a free field and no favour' was allowed to all systems. This the original Bill decidedly did. It left the character of the schools entirely  
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to the ratepayers and their representatives: they might erect denominational, undenominational, or secular schools: the State simply insisted that in all the secular instruction should be satisfactory, and that religious liberty should be protected from infringement. Its principle was simple and intelligible, and at first sight it seemed likely to secure general acceptance.

But very soon the battle of agitation began to rage. All over the country the League and the Union held rival meetings; and the superior organization and larger expenditure of the former gave it an apparent equality or even preponderance, especially in the reports of the daily press, which, for some strange reason, reported its meetings and partially ignored those of its rival. But the first remarkable indication of public opinion was shown in the petitions presented to the House of Commons. In June, 1870, when the discussions in Parliament were almost approaching a conclusion, the Union published an abstract of the petitions, drawn from the official Report of the Committee on Public Petitions, and therefore of no doubtful authenticity, by which it appeared that the number of petitioners in favour of the general provisions of the Bill was about twelve times the number of those opposed to it, and the number petitioning for religious education, in some form, was no less than 381,214, as against 23,612 petitioning on the other side. Allowing for all the inaccuracies and fallacies of statistics of this kind, the result was unmistakable, and, we believe, astonishing to both sides in the struggle. It might have been expected to be decisive of the issue. But the course of the discussion was disturbed in the House by party influences, ecclesiastical and political. The Nonconformist bodies began to show jealousy of the power which the strict impartiality of Mr. Forster's measure would inevitably give to the Church, not as the Church, but as the body which had done the greatest work and achieved the foremost position in the educational field. The 'advanced Liberals' began to grumble at a measure which was likely to secure Conservative support, and which was, most untruly, said to require no sacrifices from the adherents of the old system. We have always fancied that Mr. Forster, although he was far too loyal to hint at any separation in opinion from his colleagues, would probably have stood firm against these influences, and certainly could have carried his Bill intact, if he had stood firm. But—human nature and party necessities being what they are—it was too much to expect a Liberal Government to disregard them. And, accordingly, the Bill received, on several points, modifications which it was hard to defend theoretically, while still adhering to its main principles, and which certainly greatly interfered with its simplicity and consistency.



sistency. In the first place, while the people were petitioning that religious education should be preserved and recognised, the Government resolved that all religious instruction should be ignored, both in respect of inspection and in respect of all grants of public money. In the next place, what has been called the 'Time-table Conscience Clause' was introduced, interfering with the arrangements of religious instruction in schools, and forcing on all alike a stereotyped regulation as to the time of giving it. Most important of all was the well-known 'Cowper-Temple Clause,' brought forward, strangely enough, by the chairman of the Union, which had all along been protesting against the principle\* enunciated therein, and accepted by the Government. This clause, prohibiting all 'religious catechisms and religious formularies distinctive of any particular denomination,' restricted the liberty previously allowed to the ratepayers, and prevented them from founding any schools connected with a religious body, or accepting the transfer of any such schools to themselves. The effect of all these changes was serious. The first certainly tends to discourage religious instruction, and to support the notion of the separation of the religious and the secular elements in education. The second is not very defensible, either in justice or in policy, but probably will not, in practice, do any great good or harm. The third will very materially affect the future of the existing denominational schools, which otherwise might eventually have passed into the hands of the School Boards without losing their original character, provided that the Boards (as they often might and would have done) had seen that there were circumstances under which such preservation was desirable. What its immediate effect will be on the religious character of the Board schools we cannot, as yet, determine; but there can be no doubt that it gives great argumentative advantage to the advocates of a purely secular education, and the opponents, present and future, of any Government grants to denominational schools. It is, in fact, one of these compromises which cannot be maintained on principle, and which, therefore, while it certainly ends strife for the present, may sow the seeds of a future strife, greater in itself and absolutely uncertain in its results. However, with these modifications, the Bill was passed, and has been on the whole readily accepted, although it has departed from the impartiality towards religion and secularism originally contemplated—in some points tending to discourage religious

\* It is true that it was brought forward by Mr. Cowper-Temple as an individual. But the chairman of a great public body, so long as he retains his chairmanship, must, in great degree, sink his individuality. Certainly the Union, in allowing him still to occupy the chair, seemed to condone his action.

instruction altogether, and in others to undermine the old denominational schools. It is curious to observe, that the League party is the party most discontented with it; the other side, although every one of the principles which are new in it calls for concession on their part, have felt so conscious of their strength that, rightly or wrongly, they have ignored these drawbacks, and resolved to work the Bill thoroughly and honestly.

Then followed the elections for School Boards all over England, and here it was that the strength of the desire for religious education in the country came out most distinctly and even signally. The secularists were literally nowhere. The League put out its placards, recommending the few secularist candidates; the Liberal papers raised the cry of 'Sectarianism,' professed to regard the contest as one between progress and retrogression, and in some places sought to enforce a practical disqualification against the clergy. But it was all in vain; their favourites were rejected everywhere. It was significant (for example) that in London hardly a single candidate ventured to come forward on a purely secularist platform, and the practical desires and resolutions of the successful candidates were abundantly evinced. The decision of the country was most unmistakably pronounced; in fact, so unmistakably that the most honest and clear-sighted of the opponents of the decision have now accepted it as an accomplished fact. Nor was this all. It is remarkable that, in a great number of cases, the men chosen to administer the new system are those who have worked under the old, and who avow their desire to see the existing schools maintained. The Church, as usual, was hardly conscious of her strength. No doubt, Churchmen might have carried more candidates, had they known it;\* but, even as it is, her representation is very considerable in numbers, and perhaps even more so in respect of influence. The clergy, who were at first ordered by foes, and even advised by friends, not to risk candidature, have been elected freely; and simply from greater knowledge and higher education have gained in many cases a leading position on the Boards. Everything confirms the indications already noticed of public opinion on the matter. We might, perhaps, have anticipated the decision; but we did not anticipate the exceeding clearness and even enthusiasm with which it has been pronounced.

Nor have the proceedings of the Boards so elected been in any way inconsistent with the public feeling which determined

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\* The use of the ballot and the cumulative vote introduced unknown and unprecedented elements into the contest, which defied all calculations, and produced the grandest possible results.

their constitution. The resolution to maintain religious education substantially and effectively, and to put to flight all the theoretical difficulties by determined practical attempts, has been repeatedly shown. Take the case only of the London School Board. The proposal that 'the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given therefrom such explanations and such instructions in the principles of religion and morality as are suitable to the capacities of children'—allowing for cases of exception, but throwing in such cases the *onus probandi* on the managers, parents, or ratepayers of the district—was brought forward as soon as the Board settled down to its work. It led to a singularly interesting debate, conducted with hardly a trace of animosity, and opening up all the various aspects of the subject; but the result never was doubtful, even for a moment. An amendment of the Rev. W. Rogers, urging the Board 'not to commit itself to any resolution' on the subject, found no seconder. The next, by Mr. Chatfield Clarke, proposing to leave all religious instruction to voluntary zeal and effort, although it brandished the flag of religious equality and conscientious conviction, and invoked the hatred of denominationalism, was defeated by 37 votes to 4. The proposal of the Rev. B. Waugh, to 'read the Bible without religious note or comment,' fared even worse, and only mustered 3 votes against 41. And at last the original motion was carried by 38 votes against 3, and would have secured a larger majority, had not the rejection of an amendment for granting special privileges to Roman Catholicism led the Roman Catholic members to abstain from voting. It is hardly necessary to add anything to the eloquence of these figures; but the debate itself was singularly instructive, and especially so in respect of a speech by Professor Huxley, who, although somewhat patronizing in his tone towards established creeds, was very emphatic in his conviction that some form of religion and morality was essential to true education, and honest (and even generous) in his acknowledgment of what religious influence had already done in the great work. The above is but a specimen of the general tone of proceeding. There can be no question that the School Boards generally will seriously and earnestly endeavour to imbue their educational system with a really religious spirit. There may, perhaps, be a few secular schools, as there are a few now (*e. g.*, those on the Birkbeck system); but they will be few and far between, unless there should occur any fatal difficulty in the working of an 'undenominational' scheme.

This historical retrospect is full both of interest and instruction. It seems to us conclusively to prove two things: first, that

that religious education, and consequently religion itself, are about to pass into a new phase, bringing with it great trials and fraught with very important consequences ; and next, that, even under these circumstances, the vitality of the religious spirit has shown itself most signally and most hopefully.

The novelty of the position is undoubted, and it forms a new era in the relation of Church and State, considered in its widest sense. It is, we suppose, an almost undoubted truth that this relation has, since Church Establishment became an accomplished fact, passed—at least in this country—through three stages. The first is that in which the Church and State are considered as identical in composition ; the former including all the inhabitants of the country in their spiritual character, and the latter the same persons in their temporal relations. The next is that in which the State is considered as distinct from the Church, but yet acknowledges the Church alone as the representative of all religious powers and privileges in the country. The third is that which recognises many religious bodies, each having its own organization and rights, conceding only a primacy, more or less defined, to the Established Church. With all these aspects the education of the country had, at different times, been connected ; and recently it had passed into the last phase, giving a very shadowy primacy, if any, to the Establishment, and beginning also to introduce the principle of acknowledging a religious teaching distinct from all special religious bodies, although practically the working out of that principle was somewhat exceptional.\* Now, it will be observed, by the enactment of the Cowper-Temple clause, the State has established as a general rule what before it did but recognise exceptionally. It has inaugurated a national system of religious teaching, wholly dissociated in theory from any special religious body and its distinctive formularies. The Act implies the belief, to which the country has assented, that such a system of religious teaching is possible. It is clear that, if this belief be realized, it will exercise a most important influence over the status of religious bodies, and so on the great relation of the State to the Church or to the Church and the Sects. But into this we do not intend to enter. We confine ourselves to the strictly educational aspect of the question ; and in respect to this we wish to point out the entirely new circumstances under which the religious principle will have to work.

Its teaching and its teachers will be, to a great degree, deprived of the support and the authority which a Church, as an

\* Every one knows the immense preponderance of denominational (*i.e.*, generally Church) schools under the old system.

organized religious body, can always give. So far as they are commissioned they will be the officials of the State, or of the rate-paying community, considered as a portion of the State; and the State, as such, is being led, perhaps being forced, to assume more and more of a secular basis. The central authority does this absolutely by refusing even to recognise religious instruction in the schools;\* the local communities may at any time take the same course, although they refuse to do so now, without any inconsistency or absurdity. It follows, therefore, that the religious teachers of our new schools will be forced to rely simply on their own individual Christianity; every man will have to 'fight for his own hand' in the spiritual warfare; and the great masses, hitherto more or less closely organized and disciplined, will be broken up into a cloud of isolated combatants. Nor will the loss be limited to this. There is a great influence by which a Church tells from without upon a school connected with it, not only by its authority, but also by the sympathy, aid, and direction, which the very fact of its connexion brings out, and which, in country districts especially, have done so much to invigorate and exalt the character of our existing schools. All this will be lost, and we see nothing to supply its place; it will be hard to get up any enthusiasm for a school, which is created and maintained by the unattractive and unsympathizing power of mere law.

But, of course, these difficulties are but slight compared with the difficulty introduced by the attempt to be 'undenominational,' an attempt jealously watched by a small but acute party, who are most anxious to make it fail as a religious system, and glide down the smooth incline into the lower depth of secularism. The very principle is conceived of in two wholly different lights. One class interprets it as an undertaking to teach nothing of which any denomination can disapprove, giving practically to the most insignificant minority a power of veto, which a large acquiescing majority would be wholly unable to overrule. Remembering the marvellous diversity of bodies even calling themselves Christians, from the Ultramontane Romanist to the broadest Unitarian, remembering also that Jews or Mahometans are a denomination in the view of the Act, remembering that it might be the policy of secularists to water down the religious teaching by captious objections, instead of refusing it

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It is not even allowed to count as school-attendance under the New Code, although even to music and drill that privilege is conceded. Considering even the intellectual difficulty and value of such instruction, so jealous an exclusion of it from the cognisance of the Government savours a little of that working a principle to death, of which only mere *doctrinaires* are usually guilty.

under the Conscience Clause, it is not difficult to show (and it has been shown repeatedly), that by the application of the process of exhaustion, such interpretation is gradually destructive of all religious instruction whatever. Now nothing is more certain than that the inventor of the Cowper-Temple Clause, and the Prime Minister, who accepted it and so gave it a chance of becoming law, utterly refused this interpretation. Their intention was simply to provide that the schools should not be 'ticketed' as belonging to this denomination or that. They believed that, although it is impossible to draw out an undenominational creed, which even all Christians would accept, yet that there is a vast amount of common belief and teaching in the various systems, which include the great mass of the community, and acknowledge a common Bible, and that by a process of 'Natural Selection' this will hold the leading place in all religious instruction which is not avowedly designed for proselytism or controversy. Extreme opinions, they thought, must be left to the protection of the Conscience Clause and its power of withdrawal; and so the right at once of the minority and the (often forgotten) majority would be preserved. This is really the view which has been accepted by the country and the School Board generally. But a moment's thought will show that, like most of our English institutions, stamped with the marks of legislative compromise, it is a rough common-sense way of treating the question, which is easily open to attack from the adherents of more rigidly logical systems, and which depends wholly for its continued existence on the support of public opinion. We trust and we believe that it will be made to work. But it is obvious that under it religious teaching must be carried on under certain restraints; its shackles may be heavy or light according to circumstances, but in no case can they be wholly unfelt.

We have not dwelt upon these new conditions and new difficulties of religious instruction, because we think them likely to be fatal. On the contrary, we fully believe that the strong and almost vehement energy of the religious spirit so signally manifested through the whole of the Education question, will prove itself able to do what as yet it has always done—to adapt itself to new institutions, or adapt those institutions to itself, to gain even freshness and originality from the imposition of novel conditions, and perhaps to learn some of the lessons which those conditions imply. Is it too much to hope that if the experiment of a common religious teaching succeeds in our schools, it may do something to draw together elsewhere, to unity of feeling, if not unity of Church constitution, those who are now far too  
much

much divided in the face of a common enemy? All who have had to maintain the principle of religious teaching must have felt how infinitely greater and deeper than all 'denominational' doctrines is the ground of a common Christianity. But it is very important that those who care for religious education should understand that, if the main battle is won, success has not been gained without much sacrifice, and that on their watchfulness, their sympathy, and their self-devotion at the present time, the extent and value of the victory will depend. We have already said that very much will turn upon the continued existence of the old schools, in which religious teaching has a larger and a more unfettered opportunity; yet to sustain these will be specially difficult; rates and subscriptions are not naturally co-existent, and from mere ignorance many may fancy that all can be thrown on the new system. It must be the business of the leaders of religious opinion to show that there is a special call for liberality and self-sacrifice here. Then again, it is certain that some means must be taken to supply that inspection in religious knowledge, which the Education Department relinquishes, but for which the Act leaves room. (Section lxxvi.) The injury done by this deliberate ignoring of the subject by the central authority and its separation from all others cannot be undone, but it may be compensated for by more thorough inspection, perhaps by greater reverence and earnestness of tone therein. We are glad to see that all religious bodies, and the Church of England especially, are alive to this need. Again, it is obvious that every exertion should be made to supply teachers, who shall be men and women of religious spirit and conviction. The Training Colleges, especially since they have been injured by the short-sighted economy of the old Revised Code, may probably be insufficient in number. It would be better to spend money in creating one new training college of religious education, than in erecting a score of new elementary schools. But, over and above these things, what is to be desired is that all who care for religious education should bring to bear on the future those subtle and powerful influences of sympathy and of opinion which give life to all practical agencies. So alone can School Boards, managers, and teachers be at once encouraged and restrained; so alone can the Education Department, now both liberally and honestly guided, be kept from reverting to some of the evil traditions of the past. The religious fortress has defied all attempts to storm it; let its defenders beware lest it be undermined in detail, and keep a bold and united front to the enemy, *'ne dum singuli pugnent, universi vivantur.'*

. iii. The last, and in some sense the most interesting, question,

tion, still remains. What are the prospects of really pushing on National Education under our new circumstances, so that in a few years it shall deserve its high title, and make the advance which is so urgently needed both in quality and quantity? We think that there is a most hopeful prospect, chiefly because the system to be followed is accordant with English traditions in refusing to break continuity, in the determination which it shows to utilize, to reinvigorate, and to supplement all that is good in the old.

Let us briefly glance at the various directions, in which we may hope for improvement.

In the first place the new system must soon cover all the neglected spots and succour all the neglected classes of the community. We have always done full justice to the marvellous power which the voluntary action of duty and charity has shown in this matter. Where the population is comparatively thin, where classes are really known to one another, where there are still such things as local feelings and attachments, where the exertions of the Church and other religious bodies have been able to keep pace with the necessities of the times, it has been generally sufficient, and it would have been far more sufficient, if it had received more support and encouragement at head-quarters. But in the large towns it has been outstripped and overwhelmed by the vast increase of population, and the growth of large masses of people, vagabond and pauperized, separated from society by a broad gulf, which law and charity alike have sought in vain to bridge over. Let us confine ourselves once more to the case of London. The School Board has made diligent inquiry into the present supply of educational resources; it has catalogued every school, public and private, good, bad, and indifferent, where the fee paid is under ninepence a week. What is the result? The estimated population of the Metropolitan area is 3,258,469; the estimated number of children between three and thirteen, is 684,284; and of these it is calculated that about four-fifths, some 517,428, should be in elementary schools. The whole accommodation (at eight square feet per child, which the Act lays down as the minimum) provides for 400,352. If therefore all these schools were full and were efficient, there would still be about 150,000 children to provide for in London. But of the 3177 schools, which provide this accommodation, 1916 are 'private adventure schools;' it is all but certain that many of these will be pronounced inefficient and so left out of calculation, and some of the larger schools will share the same fate. Evidently therefore the area, which the new schools must cover is very large; the necessity of covering it, even if it stood



alone, would have fully justified the introduction of a new State agency to supply these inevitable but fatal defects in the old. The London School Board, we are glad to see, is already, in anticipation of the inquiries going on, selecting certain neglected spots, on which it may erect the first of its many schools.

The case of London is probably the strongest. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the same urgent need exists in the larger towns. Everyone knows how rapidly towns spring up in manufacturing or mining districts. In such towns no other agency than that of the law can meet the swiftly growing necessity. Probably there are at least some rural districts, where similar, the less urgent, need is felt.

Now the machinery of the Act is thoroughly efficient here. In the name of true economy and justice to existing interests it requires certain preliminaries, which will take some little time; and it is amusing to see how the new-born educational enthusiasm of the public chafes at the delay of even a few weeks or months. But in a short time, certainly before the three years of the first School Boards come to an end, the whole face of the country will be covered with schools, all rising to a certain standard of efficiency, and accessible to every individual of the classes which need them. This is the first step; we rejoice in the prospect of it; we feel, perhaps, a little ashamed that we have been so long in taking it.

Next we hope and believe that the standard of education will be raised. In saying that it needs to be raised, we are not reflecting upon the existing schools. Many of them are excellent; in all, considering their various difficulties and discouragements, the only wonder is that results so good have been already secured. But it has not been, it could not be, either in itself or in its results, what such a country as England needs and ought to have. We see the beginnings of a brighter day.

It is satisfactory to notice that the New Code of Regulations reverses in many material points that system of the 'Revised Code,' on which so much has been said, in vehement censure, in rather faint and perfunctory praise. We are far from thinking that the Revised Code did no good, and eradicated no evils, but by the consent of all who care for education, it is acknowledged that it did this service in a very 'rough and ready way,' and at a ruinous cost. The first object really seemed to be economy; a certain efficiency of education, by 'payment for results' and by rigid enforcement of the 'Three R's,' was contemplated, but only as a secondary matter. But whatever was the object, the effect is certain. It has been seriously to discourage elementary schoolmasters, causing many to leave and fewer to enter the profession,

profession, to diminish the supply of pupil-teachers, to close some of the training schools, and decidedly to lower the standard of education, and grind out its loveliness and spirit. At last, in this, as in other cases, the Government has come to see that the economy effected was a wretchedly false economy, which will have to be made up for at far greater cost than it saved; that the passing large numbers of children in the elementary subjects, however good in itself, may be dearly purchased by the sacrifice of the higher elements of education; and that it is hardly a wise policy on the part of the Education Department to discourage and snub the schoolmanagers and teachers, on whose willingness and enthusiasm so much depends. The New Code of 1871 is evidently designed to retrace some of these steps. It promises more liberal grants, in fulfilment of a promise made by Mr. Gladstone in the House; it wisely offers under certain circumstances certificates to teachers of known experience and excellence without examination; and it desires to give a premium for the study of higher subjects. It is perhaps doubtful whether the arrangements of the Code are so contrived as to effect this last most desirable purpose; some authorities contend that the maximum of grant will be reached in efficient schools without touching the higher subjects at all. But the recognition of this principle is the all important matter; if there is the will to encourage larger views of instruction, the way will soon be found. We hail this change as a cheering indication that a more really liberal and enlightened spirit pervades in the Department.

The School Boards also seem inclined to do their part in the same spirit. As before, we will take the London Board and its operations as types of the rest. The first report of the Education Committee has just been presented by Professor Huxley, the Chairman, and there is no doubt that it will be substantially accepted by the Board. Its programme certainly does not err on the side of scantiness. It contemplates in the schools for children from seven upwards the following subjects:—

- a. Religion and Morality.
- b. Reading, writing, and arithmetic; English Grammar and Composition, and the principles of book-keeping in Senior Schools; and mensuration in Senior Boys' Schools.
- c. Systematized object lessons, embracing in the course of the six school years, instruction in all the elementary conceptions of physical science, and serving as an introduction to the science examinations which are conducted by the Science and Art Department.
- d. The History of England.

*c.* Elementary Geography.

*f.* Elementary Social Economy.

*g.* Elementary drawing, leading up to the examinations in mechanical drawing and to the art teaching of the Science and Art Department.

*h.* In Girls' School, plain needlework and cutting out.

And it even allows aspiring managers to add at their discretion (which we hope will be tempered by prudence)—

*a.* Algebra and Geometry.

*b.* The rudiments of Latin or a Modern Language.

It will be observed that the programme laid down recognises not only the ordinary training in language, writing, and arithmetic, but the rudiments of Physical Science and Art. And so including, however simply, the chief elements of education, it shows a distinct and determinate desire to make it something more than the mere mechanical grinding to which many have been inclined to confine it. It proposes, we should add, also to make physical exercise and drill a regular part of the work of its schools, so at least to sanction physical training, possibly to prepare for the military exigences of the future.

We anticipate, of course, that certain people will hold up their hands in amazement, lament over the burden to be laid on the ratepayers, and declaim about over-education or snattering. Undoubtedly the programme must be worked carefully, and it will require good teachers to work it; all these subjects will not be taught to all children in a school, nor, we presume, is the recommendation to be made a law of the Medes and Persians without any dispensing power. But these considerations will not escape the Board; with due prudence and discrimination we believe that their general scheme can be carried out; and remembering that their action must evidently affect that of other Boards, and even of the voluntary schools, we think its adoption will mark an era in the educational history of the country.

There will be then a very decided and earnest attempt to raise our educational standard. Why should it not succeed? The capacity of the English mind is at least not inferior to those of our continental neighbours. Can we not rival the results which, for instance, Switzerland or Germany has attained? All evidence seems to show that the answer rests on two conditions—the provision of a proper supply of teachers, and the power to ensure regular attendance.

There can be no doubt that, speaking generally, our schools have not been sufficiently officered, either as to quantity or quality of teachers. The only wonder is that so insufficient a staff has often achieved so many excellent results. The new system

system will, we imagine, attempt to increase the number of teachers, which poverty has generally kept down. We refer once more to the Report of the London School Board's Educational Committee. They say—'We are of opinion that the minimum number of teachers for a school of 500 children should be 16—namely, 1 head teacher, 4 assistant teachers, and 11 pupil teachers; and that the teaching staff should be increased by 1 assistant teacher and 3 pupil teachers for additional 120 children.'

It is understood that this is but an opinion, not so necessarily binding as to determine the future action of the Board; but it has been arrived at after careful consideration; it represents the opinion of the most influential members; and it will probably be accepted in substance. No one who knows anything of ordinary elementary schools will be slow to perceive that such a staff is far above the average. But, if education is to be intelligent, if it is to bring the mind of the teacher to bear on the mind of the pupil, if it is to dispense with those merely mechanical processes under which knowledge lightly comes and lightly goes, some such provision of teachers is not excessive. It will (as we have said) be very difficult for the existing schools to rival it, and yet rival it they must, if they are to hold their own. But that its necessity is recognised, and that there is a resolution to supply it, are hopeful signs for the education of the future.

But there is need, also, of some advance in quality as well as in quantity. It is probably well-known to our readers that hitherto a large number of the existing public schools have not been brought under Government inspection, mainly because they have not had certificated teachers; in those cases there is no security whatever that the teachers are efficient, and, as a matter of fact, we believe that, with some distinguished exceptions, they fall decidedly below the proper standard. What is the character of the teachers of very many 'private adventure schools' it is needless, and would be painful, to state in detail. The task of teaching is still too often looked upon as the one task which needs neither training nor special preparation of knowledge, as the refuge, in fact, of the broken down and the destitute. All this must be swept away. The Board schools will be universally 'public elementary schools,' that is, under Government inspection and its conditions; all the existing schools, virtually public, will have also to become 'public' in this technical sense; nor can we suppose that the time is far distant when something like 'Scholastic registration' will be required, to weed out from the profession the teachers who cannot teach, and the rulers who cannot rule. All these things point, as we have said, to an improvement in the  
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quality of teachers. The only difficulty is—and it is one of the most serious of all—where are these teachers to come from? In time we have little doubt that they will be forthcoming. The position, and perhaps the average stipend, will be raised; the supply will correspond to the demand. But at the first start there will be very great difficulty. The Education Department has apparently provided for this by the enactment to which we have already alluded;\* probably, if necessity is shown, it may see its way to relax a little more the stringency of its regulations, provided that real efficiency be secured. In fact, its requirement of certificates is an inconsistency, though, we think, a wise and noble inconsistency, with the bare principle of ‘payment by results,’ which the introducers of the Revised Code so loudly professed; and, under these circumstances, it ought to feel free to construe it somewhat liberally. In any case, as we have said, there will be trouble enough in starting. Probably in three years the number of certificated teachers in England must be nearly trebled; and even afterwards the supply needed will be greatly in excess of what has been hitherto required. How is it to be furnished?

All who are acquainted with the subject will be aware that any competent teacher has long been able to gain a certificate by examination, without going to a training college, and now (as we have already seen) is allowed to receive one on proof of experience, without examination. These provisions will, we hope, do much towards the needful supply. If only the position and prospects of the school teachers can be improved, many will enter or come back to this special form of educational work; and we would suggest that perhaps more use might be made (as is done in America) of female teachers, even in boys’ schools, so that here some of the 600,000 overplus of females, of which the last Census informs us, may be taken up and utilized. But the real backbone of the teaching body will be found in the trained teachers. We cannot too strongly urge upon all who care for education, what we have already urged in the interests of religion, that the great want is likely to be the want of more training colleges. The Boards have under the Act no power to found them; there

\* New Code—

59. During the three years ending 31st December, 1873, certificates of the third class may be granted, without examination, upon the report of an Inspector, to acting teachers who satisfy the following conditions:—

- (1.) They must, at the date of the Inspector’s report,—
  - (a.) Be above 35 years of age;
  - (b.) Have been teachers of elementary schools for at least 10 years; and
  - (c.) Present certificates of good character from the managers of their schools.
- (2.) The Inspector must report,—
  - (a.) That they are efficient teachers;
  - (b.) That not less than 30 children, who had been under instruction in their schools, during the preceding six months, were individually examined (Article 28); and
  - (c.) That at least 20 of the ‘passes’ of these scholars in reading, writing, or arithmetic, were made in the second, or some higher, Standard.

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will be great difficulty, especially in the present attitude of the Government towards religion, in creating them through the Education Department. It will be far better for the future of Christian Education, if the Church and other religious bodies will devote their special energies to this important work. One training college, as we have said, will be worth very many elementary schools; the present colleges may be enlarged, even if no new ones are built; possibly some colleges of a higher class might be induced to form departments for this special work. This matter is really one of the most important, and perhaps perplexing, of all. For want of success here all other exertions may be baffled, and the largest and most costly organization half paralysed.

But there is still one other condition which must be fulfilled, if the educational progress we hope for is to be realized. All competent teachers cry with one voice, 'Give us the children in regular attendance for a sufficient time, and we will teach them anything which in reason you can demand.' It has been in this, far more than in any other difficulty, that the weakness of our educational system has hitherto been manifest. There are crowds of children who do not come to school at all; there are still larger numbers whose attendance is so short and irregular that anything beyond the merest smattering is a thing impossible. Take again the statistics of this very division of Westminster, in which we are writing. There are schools which at the authorized allowance of 8 square feet per child\* could take in 28,292 children. Now only 23,680 are on the rolls. There is room, therefore, for some 5000 more, out of the 20,000, or thereabouts, who still fail to come. But this is not all; at the time of enumeration there were but 16,657 in actual attendance—that is, unless the day was especially unfortunate, there are no less than 7000 children in irregular attendance, coming one day or one week and absent the next. And this is a far more serious defect even than the other, for this irregularity really mars the teaching of the school, and produces a mere illusory shadow of education in the children. Here is, after all, the crying evil. There are thousands of children in London who have, actually or virtually, no parents; who scramble on as they can by their own earnings or beggings or stealings, hanging loose on the outskirts of society. These never enter our schools at all; their school of low and precocious cunning is found in the streets, and their teachers are misery and crime. Then there are

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\* By the way, is it necessary to insist rigidly on this area in all schools, and that without any regard to the height of the building and the consequent variation in the number of cubic feet corresponding to a given area on the floor?

thousands of parents too poor, or too idle, or too dissolute, to do without the little earnings of their children, or, perhaps, too ignorant and too careless to know the value of education for them. Their little ones are the absentees or the irregular comers. Something must be done to remedy these crying evils. What is it to be?

The Education Act suggests compulsion, and arms the Boards with compulsory powers. These powers were but permissive, but one Board after another has accepted the responsibility, and affirmed the absolute necessity of exercising them; and the districts which have no School Boards are crying out for some compulsory machinery which shall extend to them. Public opinion has on the whole supported these views and these resolutions. Even our national dislike of compulsion in any shape, and our jealous anxiety for individual liberty of parent or child, have given way. We are beginning to find, in this as in other matters, that we must have some government, some coercion of licence and selfishness, when they clothe themselves in the sacred garb of Liberty. Another great experiment is to be made: we rejoice that it is to be attempted, and wish it all success. But the task will certainly be one of extreme delicacy and difficulty. It must be so carried out as to retain the support of public opinion, especially in the classes chiefly concerned; and this it will not do, unless it carefully avoids undue precipitation, and uses discrimination and even tenderness to avoid infliction of real hardship.

The experience of the compulsory system in America (although authorities vary respecting it) is on the whole somewhat discouraging. Laws stringent in theory, and a dead letter in practice, are worse than useless; they simply demoralize a people. And what can we say of the working of such compulsory Acts as we have in England? Look at the results of the Vaccination Act. In the face of the most decisive medical statistics known, under the terror of what we fondly deemed an almost extinct species of epidemic in London, still the law is defied, and the authorities, it seems, dare not enforce it. Yet smallpox is more easily recognised as an evil than ignorance, and the sending a child to school is a greater sacrifice than allowing it to be vaccinated. Evidently we are on dangerous ground. We must not on that account stop or hesitate; but we must look to our feet.

The worst difficulty will not be with the vagabond classes, the children who are neither at school nor at work, but who are haunting the streets, living on waifs and strays, and forming the nursery of our criminal classes. It will be expensive, and in  
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some points difficult, to lay hold of these children, and to settle how they shall be fed and clothed while they are being taught. But the object is so desirable, so free from all drawback, so manifestly expedient in the long run, that there will be no hesitation about it on the part of the public; and when this is the case, the work is half done. The Industrial Schools Act must be worked and perhaps extended; the 'Ragged School' system must be taken up by authority. Something perhaps may be done (as the experiment of the 'Chichester' shows) to solve by this means the problem of a nursery for our Army and Navy. It is not expense or difficulty of detail which will baffle or even naturally impede such a work as this.

The true perplexity lies in dealing with the children who are at work, and whose earnings are, or are supposed to be, necessary for the subsistence of themselves and their parents. No doubt, in the long run, it will be good even for their families to carry them off. Their labour will become more valuable when they are educated, and their withdrawal from the labour market must eventually give more employment to their elders. But in the meanwhile there may be wide-spread hardship, and, unless great prudence be shown, the process will break down, because magistrates will hesitate to convict and imprison defaulters, and public opinion will be apt to rise up against them if they prove to be made of sterner stuff. Much will have to be done by night-schools and variations of the half-time system to meet the needs of other employments, agricultural or commercial, than those in which its present form works so well. Of course, in cases of real poverty, fees must be remitted or paid; and (reverting to a subject already noticed) we would warn the Boards to confine their compulsion within as narrow limits as may be, and leave the widest liberty of choice as to the particular school or kind of school. But whatever may be done, we feel convinced that direct compulsion must be supplemented by indirect. If the Factory and Workshops Acts be made thoroughly effective, and modified with a view to extend as widely as possible the principle of making the employer responsible for seeing that children earning wages from him are either sufficiently instructed already or are attending school, the compulsory powers of the Boards will be in great degree relieved of strain at the only point at which they are in danger of breaking down. And they will be also greatly helped if a little of the task of compulsion be taken off them by forcing the Guardians to carry out those excellent provisions of Evelyn Denison's Act, which make the sending the children of outdoor paupers to school a part of parochial relief. At present this Act, now simply permissive, is disgracefully neglected.



neglected. It appeared by a recent return, that out of 38,577 children of outdoor paupers in London, only 3125 were paid for at school by the Guardians. At St. Pancras there are 2136 such children, and not a single one is paid for: in the Strand Union the Guardians actually have the face to answer, 'Nothing known about such an Act.' Evidently such a state of things ought not to be allowed: the Guardians have had a fair trial under a permissive system, and now we hope that the screw will be put on at once. All this belongs to the Home Office; we wish that our experience of its energies were more satisfactory. But Mr. Bruce would find an easier field here, and might actually wipe out the remembrance of his cab legislation and his Licensing Bill.

These and other similar precautions must be taken, and the fervour of new-born converts to compulsion must be tempered by the remembrance that it is our last resource—that, like the rod, it may often be most effective by being kept simply *in terrorem*—that its failure would leave us in a far worse plight than at present, while it is still untried. But it must be attempted; on its success more depends than even on the other points on which we have already dwelt. If we are really discriminating and make allowance for the difficulties which society imposes on the individual, then we may 'be just and fear not.' The work will succeed, and it will be one which our children and our childrens' children will bless.

In these ways we hope that a real improvement may take place in the work of our Elementary Schools; and we look forward, lastly, to another influence acting in the same direction, to stimulate and to test such improvement. The Government inspection must be in some way extended, so as to reach at least all Elementary Schools. Probably almost all the large schools will come into the present system, simply making themselves 'Public Elementary Schools' in the meaning of the Act. But a beginning has been made, which will hardly be allowed to remain fruitless, towards a larger and more varied system. All the existing schools not already under regular inspection are to be now called upon to submit to be inspected by the Education Department, in order to test their efficiency in teaching, under pain of being ignored in estimating the educational resources of the various localities. We understand that the inspection (as indeed is necessary) is to be conducted by rather freer and less technical methods than usual, looking to tolerable efficiency of any kind, rather than to efficiency after a particular type and pattern. We cannot but hope that the experiment will not be altogether dropped, when it has done its immediate duty.

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The 'Public Elementary Schools' will be our regular forces, and we care not how strictly they are drilled and disciplined: but there may well be an outside fringe of valuable but irregular combatants against ignorance, who may be all the more useful for being somewhat more loosely ordered. So, we think, shall we best secure that general inspection, without which no regularity and universality of educational work can be for any length of time ensured.

These are some of the directions in which, confidently, almost certainly, we expect to see true progress. But independently of these special forces and modes of action, we rely on the great and thorough awakening of public interest in education, the evidences of which actually crowd upon our view. Nothing is more remarkable than the deep interest shown in the School Board elections, and the high class of men who have become candidates and have been elected. That they should have been willing to undertake a task which is full of labour and difficulty, of doubt and responsibility, and which brings with it no compensating advantages of remuneration and position, shows at once the amount of interest felt, and the strong public spirit, which is ready, now as always, for public duty. That they should have been so generally elected, that the ratepayers should have chosen men who put education first and economy second, and who desire to do their work in a liberal and uncompromising spirit, is a proof that the country at large is leavened with that same interest in the subject which hitherto has been confined to certain classes. The proceedings of the Boards themselves have shown a desire, not only to make Elementary Education thorough, but to remember that National Education must be looked upon as a whole, and that no system is good which does not weld together the various classes of schools, and therefore the various classes of the community, so that not only shall a good average of knowledge be obtainable by all, but there shall be, for those who are capable of higher things, a means of climbing the ladder, which has (to use a phrase now famous) 'its foot in the gutter and its top in the University.' In all these things we rejoice: they may last in full vigour only for a time, but in that time they will give an impulse which will never be lost. If a reactionary feeling should come over us, and a stationary period succeed the present, still a vastly higher level will have been reached, and in these matters there can be no steps backward.

It is not (as we have said) on mere legal obligation or a sense of expediency that we rely. 'Fill our schools that you may empty our workhouses and our gaols,' is a good common-sense cry,

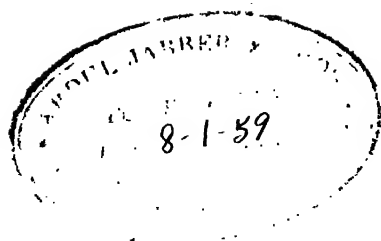
cry, but such cries never reach the depths : they may support, but cannot create enthusiasm. The intellectual zeal for the discovery and the spread of truth, the sense of our moral duty to our fellow citizens and of the need of morality for their own culture and happiness, the warm spirit of sympathy which shrinks from seeing the misery of ignorance in others, as it would from the misery of poverty and starvation—all these elements must act upon the spirit of the nation, to make it rise to its high duty. And we are stating no matter of theory, but a matter of sober historical fact, when we say that hitherto in the annals of the world no movement has united and harmonized these various elements in its service, unless it has been able to invoke the spirit of religious belief and religious enthusiasm, and to regard not only a citizenship of this world, but also ‘a citizenship in heaven.’

NOTE TO THE ARTICLE on ‘The Chronology of the Gospels,’ in No. 260, p. 507. The name of one of the Governors of Syria, Volusius Saturninus, has been inadvertently omitted. It should stand thus on the list :—

C. Marcius Censorinus	..	..	..	2 after Christ.
L. Volusius Saturninus	..	..	..	4     ,,
P. Sulpicius Quirinus	..	..	..	6     ,,









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